

KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON: IS THERE A WAR ON COPS?

PRYCE-JONES
on Primo Levi

RAMESH PONNURU: A Better Budget Strategy

OTTO PENZLER
on Dashiell Hammett

NATIONAL REVIEW



FAMILY LIVES MATTER

An agenda for opportunity

OREN CASS • REIHAN SALAM



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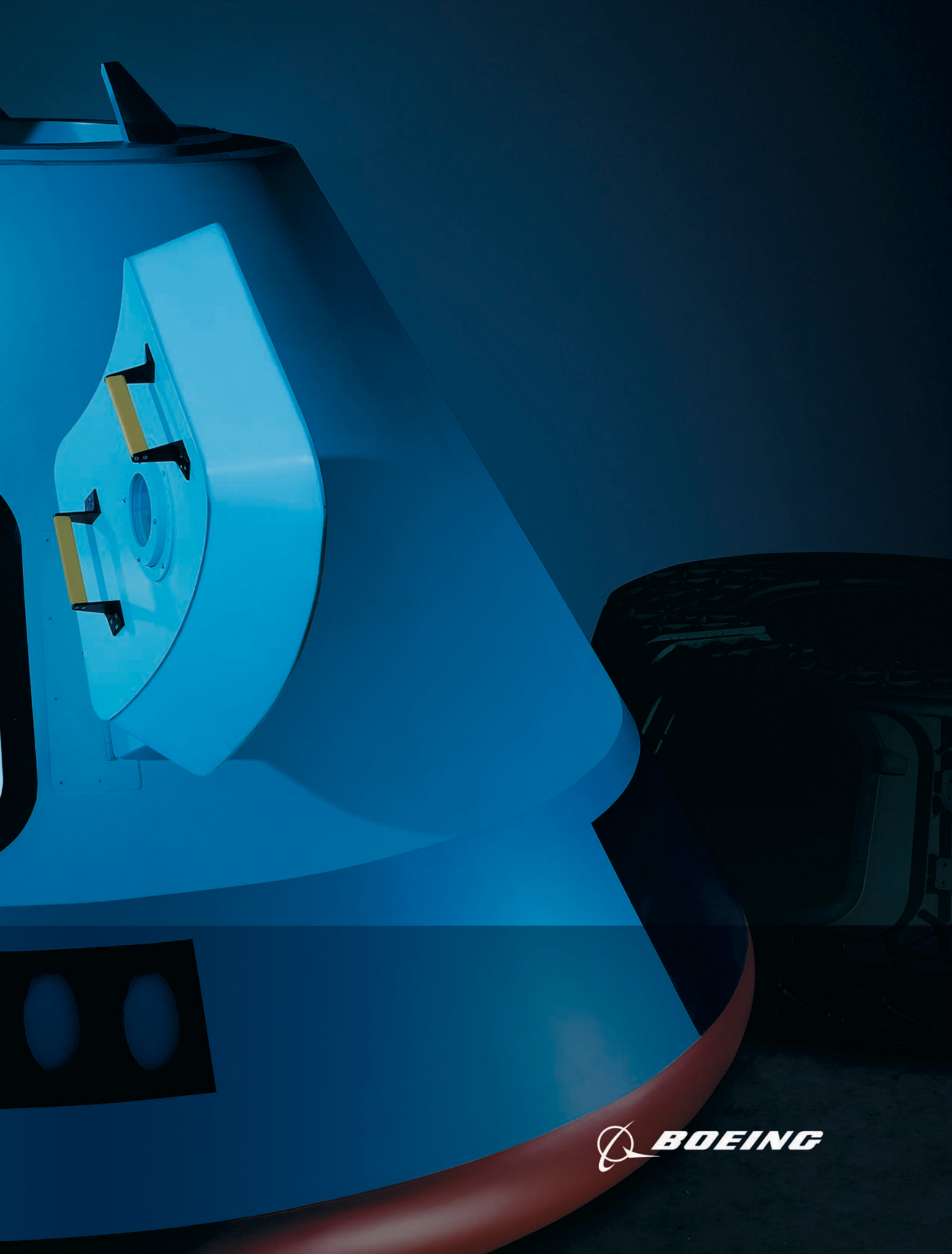


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We Can Handle the Truth

Thanks to David Pryce-Jones for his article "The Truth-Teller" (September 7) about Robert Conquest, who exposed the atrocities of the Soviet Communists in the 20th century.

While studying for an advanced degree at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, Calif., I was required to take a course that focused on the ideologies of America's adversaries.

We were assigned to read several books by Robert Conquest. The list of atrocities by Lenin, Stalin, and other Soviet leaders, which included the intentional starving of large groups of their own citizens, was at first hard to believe. I thought that Conquest had made up the numbers he reported, or at least exaggerated them. After cross-checking, I discovered that Conquest's reports were accurate.

This experience made me realize that many Americans live in a Pollyanna-like world and do not realize the violent extremes to which totalitarian regimes will go to maintain their existence.

Bill Hestir

Lieutenant Colonel (Retired), United States Marine Corps

Via e-mail

Nostalgie de la Boob

Reihan Salam ("The Naked City," September 21) says that New Yorkers dislike seeing painted, bare-breasted women in Times Square because their "deeply held beliefs . . . have been badly undermined by a market-driven sexual culture, in which the symbols of intimate solidarity have been commodified and devalued." Funny, I heard a guy say the exact same thing at the Pit Stop Bar in Greenpoint the other night.

More likely, though, what the desnudas undermine is New Yorkers' belief in their own sophistication. Most of us are quite happy to direct tourists, with an air of easy familiarity, to cultural landmarks we've never visited ourselves, so it's quite a comedown to be stopped every couple of blocks and asked, "Where are the naked women?"

We'll miss them when they're gone, though. As night follows day, the same New Yorkers who decry the "Disneyfication" of Times Square and long for the good old days when you could get mugged there, and who now say the desnudas are tacky and embarrassing, will call for their return when the entire area is turned into the world's largest Chuck E. Cheese.

Mike Whitaker

Queens, N.Y.



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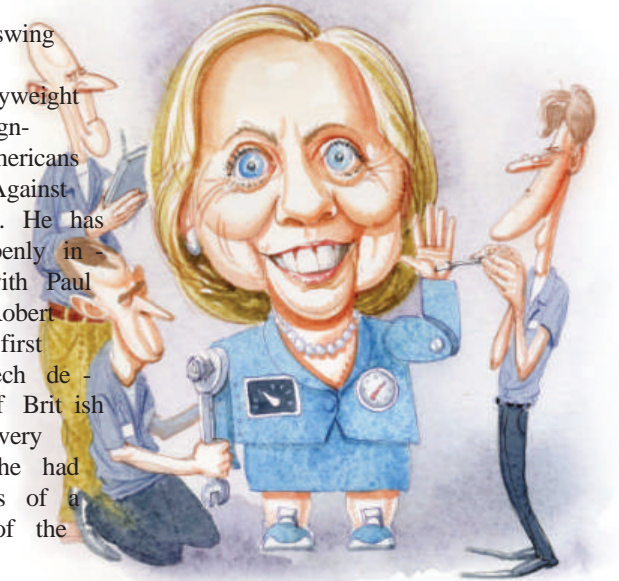
The Week



Text

■ The British Parliament voted against assisted suicide—except in the case of the Labour party.

■ Joe Biden mulls his presidential options; on the same swing through New York in which he ~~told~~^{told} his audience that he was not ready to decide, he met with Robert Wolf, a heavyweight Obama bundler. Unlike Hillary Clinton, Biden likes campaigning; there seems to be a human being inside him; and Americans sympathized with him after the death of his son Beau. Against this must be set his deficiencies as a candidate and a man. He has a motor mouth (the vice of his virtue—he is open, and openly indiscreet). He is a bitter partisan: His conduct in debate with Paul Ryan in 2012 was unpleasant, his behavior during Judge Robert Bork's 1987 confirmation hearings was savage. And his first presidential race ended in a storm of blunders. In a speech describing his life story, he plagiarized details of the life of British Labourite Neil Kinnock. After that revelation came the discovery of plagiarized bits in other speeches, plus the fact that he had flunked a course in law school for plagiarizing five pages of a paper. Reckless, rude, dishonest, dumb: It is a measure of the Democrats' disarray that this is the profile of their savior.



■ Donald Trump took personal shots at two of his Republican rivals. While watching a clip of Carly Fiorina on television, he said, "Look at that face! Would anyone vote for that?" Of Ben Carson, he simply said that he was "an okay doctor, I guess," of his father's administration. The corporate-tax rate would drop

■ George W. Bush proposed a large tax cut. He would take the top rate from 39.6 to 28 percent—the lowest it has been since the middle 1960s. The corporate-tax rate would drop from 30 percent to 25 percent, and the cost of business investment could be written off more quickly. Some tax breaks—for business research and development, for example—would be eliminated; others scaled back. The effect should be to make economic growth a bit faster. The drawbacks to the plan are three. It would increase the deficit when federal debt is likely to begin mounting rapidly. Its tax cuts are focused too much on high earners: It takes the top rate down quite far while doing almost nothing about payroll taxes. And it seeks to encourage one-earner couples to become two-earner couples by taxing the latter more lightly, an offensive piece of social engineering. The plan should be modified but it has real strengths on which to build.

■ Playing off Richard Wagner, Nietzsche entitled one of his last books "Götzen-Dämmerung"—or "Twilight of the Idols." So how goes the Clinton campaign? Top aides ~~will~~^{will} show her "her humor" and "her heart." Immediately thereafter, she showed regret about having mingled work and personal e-mails. "That was a mistake," she said. "I'm sorry about that." She has reason to feel sorry, for a special intelligence review of her e-mails found two that were "top secret" (one was about North Korea's nuclear program). "Top secret" is defined as that which could "reasonably" be expected to cause "exceptionally grave damage to the national security" if it were leaked or hacked. More revelations may come: The company that managed her easily hackable home-brew server said that the e-mails she deleted may be retrievable. Clinton's persona at this point in her life is unchangeable, and the more her rogue server only changes for the worse. Bad campaign news: Twilight may be starting to fall.

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■ Rick Perry's best shot at the Republican presidential nomination came in 2012, but he started the race late, and while taking pain medication to recover from back surgery. He became a punch line after losing his train of thought during the debate. This year, he ran a more serious campaign—measured in terms of impressive speeches and well-designed policy proposals, and not in terms of money. Perry was a highly successful governor of Texas from 2000 through 2015, but he was unable to overcome the memory of his previous campaign and govern media's obsession with Donald Trump. His concession speech invoked the consolations of faith, family, and an impressive record. Another consolation should be that those who paid attention to his campaign over the last few months had a chance to see the qualities that made him such a force in his home state.

■ More than 50 intelligence analysts at the U.S. military's Central Command have formally complained to the inspector general that their reports on the Islamic State and al-Qaeda have been systematically altered by senior officials. The intelligence has been contorted, they allege, to conform to the public claims of President Obama and other officials that the administration's strategy in Syria and Iraq—occasional air strikes in coordination with a reluctant “coalition” of Muslim governments and no competent ground forces—is making steady progress toward the goal of “degrading and ultimately defeating” the jihadists. In fact, the terrorists remain on the offensive, as the analysts say their pessimistic reports reflected CENTCOM chiefs impose “Stalinist” discipline that readily produces propaganda rather than intelligence. Something is being degraded, all right.

■ In his stump speech, Bernie Sanders, senator from left field, notes that while the official unemployment rate is 5.1 percent, if one counts those who have stopped looking for work or who are scraping by on part-time, it is actually over 10 percent. The youth-unemployment rate, calculated the same way, is even worse: 33 percent for whites, 51 percent for blacks. “We are turning our backs,” Sanders says, “on an entire generation of young people!” Who would “we” be? Sanders doesn't say, but Barack Obama, who has been president since January 2009, and Harry Reid, who was Senate majority leader for most of that time, come to mind. (Nancy Pelosi helped them as House speaker for two years.) Sanders is running against the economic record of the party whose nomination he seeks. As well he should—it's a terrible record.



■ California's legislature passed a bill legalizing assisted suicide for the terminally ill. In other countries where assisted suicide has been allowed, the scope of the license has been widened to include those not quite so ill or not quite so committed to dying. And it makes no sense to confine it to the terminally ill: Once we accept that suicide is an acceptable answer to suffering, why not offer the same opportunity to those with chronic but non-fatal ailments? Why not to those whose mental turmoil persistently bedevils them? We have never been great admirers of Governor Jerry Brown, but he would deserve great praise if he vetoed this bill.

■ It appears that the White House—with much fanfare—traded five high-ranking Taliban prisoners for a soldier who was worse than a deserter. After months of additional investigation, the Army has charged Bowe Bergdahl with “misbehavior before the enemy,” an offense far more serious than mere desertion and one that carries the theoretical ultimate punishment of death. To prove misbehavior, the Army has to show not just that Bergdahl abandoned his post (that much seems clear), but also that he did so in a manner that was “shameful” or “cowardly” and endangered the safety of his unit. Given what we know of the facts of the case, this is an appropriate charge. When Bergdahl left his base, he knew that the military would launch a massive search operation, one that would place his fellow soldiers in harm's way. That President Obama not only made but celebrated this prisoner swap will surely rank high on the list of his administration's perversities.

■ The nation's largest abortion provider, Planned Parenthood, receives much of its funding from the federal government. But the Center for Immigration Studies released a new report showing that a majority (51 percent) of households headed by more after a series of videos exposed its involvement in selling organs of aborted fetuses for a profit—among other grisly revelations. They want a continuing resolution that keeps the rate for the native-born (30 percent). More worrisome, three-fourths of the immigrant households using welfare were headed by legal immigrants to the United States. Why are America's immigration policies importing so many people who require government assistance to survive? Enthusiasts have long touted the net benefits of mass immigration: More new young workers will stabilize social-welfare programs and slow the aging of the American work force. But if that's the rationale, why not admit only those men and women who can unambiguously stand on their own feet rather than collect benefits?

France, and the United Kingdom. Hungary, which has become a staging ground for migrants, has declared a state of emergency and closed its border with Serbia, and Germany, after

initially calling for openness to the flood of migrants, has closed its borders as well. Still, Germany expects 1 million people to settle there by the end of the year, suggesting that

An Epidemic of Loneliness

FOR more than a hundred years, economists and sociologists have studied an empirical regularity: When the population share of Protestants relative to Catholics rises, suicides increase markedly. Two major theories emerged to explain the pattern. The first rests on theological differences, and holds that Catholics but not Protestants are dissuaded from suicide by the fear that it will lead to eternal damnation. The second is that Protestants are more likely to have weaker ties to the community, and it is this separation from the support of a community that leads to despair and suicide.

While the early literature focused on these two competing forms of Christianity, researchers have begun to explore religion and the role of community more generally. As time has gone on, the community-based rather than theological explanation seems to have become more widely accepted in the literature. For instance, research has found that while Protestants commit suicide more than Catholics, atheists are even more likely to take their own lives than Protestants, an observation that would favor the community-based rather than theological channel.

The idea that community may be an important factor is certainly not a new one. Emile Durkheim's seminal 1897 monograph *Suicide* documented that individualism and low levels of community involvement could explain why adherents of certain religious denominations were more likely to commit suicide than others. Studies that use modern data sources and statistics have largely confirmed this notion. One study of 24 EU countries finds that high levels of social capital decrease suicides associated with job loss by 19 percent. Another study examines the possibility of a role for a "sociological channel" in suicide and finds strong evidence that high levels of social cohesion diminish suicide risk even after one controls for a variety of factors, including the frequency of mental and physical illness.

Which brings us to today's America. With religion on the decline and community engagement waning, the century-old literature might suggest that a surge in suicide could be in store for us. Sadly, the data provide chilling confirmation that the trend is already visible. Americans are bowling alone, and dying alone.

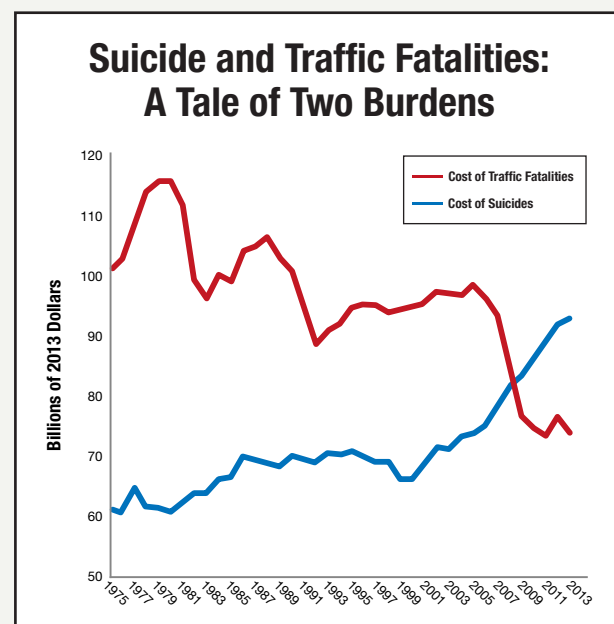
The increase in the incidence of suicide observed in recent years is truly astonishing. Suicide data from the Centers for Disease Control and automotive-fatality data from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration show that, in each year since 2009, suicides have killed more Americans than car accidents. In 2013, fatalities from suicides outnumbered those from car accidents by 25 percent, 41,149 to 32,719. It wasn't always so: In 1975, fatalities from car accidents outnumbered fatalities from suicides by 64 percent, 44,525 to 27,063. If each of the top ten causes of death in the U.S. continues to grow at the rate it has averaged since 1999, when this surge in suicides

began, by 2024 more Americans will die from suicide than from flu and pneumonia combined.

The human cost of this tragic increase is unfathomable, yet the surge in suicide has barely received mention in public-policy circles. And even its narrow economic costs are far larger than we generally realize. The chart below shows how the economic burden of fatalities from suicide has evolved between 1975 and 2013 and how it compares with that of automobile accidents. To convert statistics on fatalities into statistics on their economic burden, we use a rule of thumb, developed based on automotive data, that estimates the value of a life at \$2.23 million in 2013 dollars. Public policies that save a life are commonly discussed when policymakers discuss automobile safety—and for good reason. At the start of our sample, automobile fatalities cost Americans more than \$100 billion per year (in 2013 dollars). In the case of automobiles, these high costs set in motion decades of aggressive research and regulation. The chart indicates that the economic burden of suicide fatalities now approaches the economic burden of automobile fatalities in the days when the latter's steep toll catalyzed, for instance, the widespread adoption of the passenger airbag.

As Protestantism spread and Catholicism declined in Europe, individuals found themselves increasingly separated from the community support mechanisms that could help sustain them in difficult times. Suicides surged. Today's coarsening world is having a similar effect on far too many. Suicide has become an urgent public-health crisis with astronomical economic costs.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



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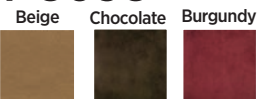


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multiple millions could be in Europe by Christmas. And now Australia's conservative prime minister, Tony Abbott, has more are likely to arrive in the years to come. Classicists might recall that "crisis" traditionally referred to a turning point, a decisive moment; surely that is what is for Europe. Turnbull thus becomes the fifth prime minister of Oz since 2009 and the third to get the job as the result of such a coup. Without decisive action to turn back migrants, Europe will undergo a demographic transformation that will radically alter the social and cultural landscape of the Continent, not to mention the economic and political landscape. Turnbull isn't becoming less stable than Egypt or Iraq. It isn't heavily invested in their transnational experiment, seem will be the coup will have some bad effects all the same. Abbott is going to accept that. There is no reason that the United States should. Difficult as it may be, calls for America to accept large numbers of migrants, especially Syrian refugees, should be rebuffed. The United States can offer aid to refugee camps, but it should not follow Europe's self-destructive course.

■ The British national anthem has a line hoping that the monarch will "long to reign over us." It has come to pass. Queen Elizabeth II came to the throne in 1952. Sixty-three years and he managed to keep employment growing when Australia (to be very specific about it, 23,226 days, 16 hours, and 47 minutes) was heading south with the fall in commodity prices. Turnbull has his virtues: He has conservative instincts on economic policy and a sterling record in business. But he's pretty much a limousine liberal on most other issues. The campaign of sniping and leaks his allies conducted against Abbott succeeded by 55 to 45 votes in the parliamentary caucus, but it left a bitter aftertaste. Liberal rank-and-file members have been bombarding party headquarters with messages of anger, shame, and rejection, against a claim made long ago by Walter Bagehot that Tories by promising to stick with most of his policies. He helped by Abbott's discouraging any talk of revenge. Even so, Australian Liberals might be divided by these events for Winston Churchill onward, almost as long as the British Tories were by the defection of Thatcher.



proximately 30 minutes. Turnbull has his virtues: He has conservative instincts on economic policy and a sterling record in business. But he's pretty much a limousine liberal on most other issues. The campaign of sniping and leaks his allies conducted against Abbott succeeded by 55 to 45 votes in the parliamentary caucus, but it left a bitter aftertaste. Liberal rank-and-file members have been bombarding party headquarters with messages of anger, shame, and rejection, against a claim made long ago by Walter Bagehot that Tories by promising to stick with most of his policies. He helped by Abbott's discouraging any talk of revenge. Even so, Australian Liberals might be divided by these events for Winston Churchill onward, almost as long as the British Tories were by the defection of Thatcher.

prime ministers, all of whom speak of her wisdom and the example she sets of ser-pol do López. He has been a prisoner of his country's vice to the public. She gave no interviews, so he was sentenced to 13 years and 9 months, after the kind of trial that solemn expression at grand ceremonies and China. Extending his arms to the bailiff who would shack her smile when a horse of him, López said, "These handcuffs will be removed by the Venezuelan people." López is one of the most inspiring people in the democratic world. Even as a political prisoner, he is energetic and unbowed. His motto is, "El que se cansa, pierde," "He who tires, loses." If only the thugs who run his country.

hers wins a race are the only available evidence of an that seems as constant as it is admirable.

■ The British Labour party lost the last election to the Conservatives because its policies were too socialist for the electorate. About 5 million Labour voters have defected. So the party had the bright idea of letting anyone join it and vote for its leader for a fee of just three pounds. This loose arrangement may help explain how the half-million members chose Jeremy Corbyn, a 66-year-old backbencher in Parliament, he stands for yesterday's vision of revolutionary socialism. His program involves nationalization of banks and services, avoiding austerity, printing money, raising taxes, abandoning the British nuclear deterrent and NATO, and, in time, scrapping the monarchy and private education. An experienced agitator, he is chairman of the Stop the War Coalition, a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament stalwart, and a friend of Hamas and Hezbollah. Ten shadow-cabinet ministers immediately resigned. Let's hope that Labour voters show the same sense.

■ The Chilean legislator and former government minister Felipe Kast went to Havana, to spend some time with Fidel Castro. While in Havana, he walked with the Ladies in White, the human-rights group. He explained, "The Ladies in White have spent a long time suffering violent repression simply for demonstrating peacefully in favor of human rights in Cuba. On my visit to Cuba, the least I could do was accompany them on their Sunday walk." Along with the rest of them, Kast was beaten and arrested by the Castro security forces. (They didn't know who he was.) A democrat who lives in a free country, Kast demonstrated his solidarity with demonstrators who live in an unfree country. This is a marked contrast with U.S. lawmakers, such as Jeff Flake and Pat Leahy, who



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go to Cuba to schmooze with the regime, ignoring the people who need our attention and support.

■ Stephen Jay Gould described science and religion as “non-overlapping magisteria,” advising the biologists and the physicists to stay in their lane and the priests and the rabbis in theirs. Lawrence Krauss, physicist, director of the Origins Project at Arizona State University, and fanatical atheist, ought to have considered that advice; instead, he published a boneheaded and error-ridden essay *The New Yorker* headlined “All Scientists Should Be Militant Atheists.” (Canon Copernicus and Augustinian friar Gregor Mendel may have felt differently, to say nothing of Father Georges LeMaitre et al.) In abominating Kentucky county clerk Kim Davis, Krauss claims that Christians seek license “to break the law,” though the practice of religious accommodation weren’t a new thing. James Madison, who opposed Calhoun’s efforts to nullify a tariff in 1833, wrote that he aimed “to create a disgust against the practice of religious accommodation, and then to open a way out of it.” Although Calhoun died in 1850, his arguments and the considerable spirit of open inquiry is incompatible with religion—though there weren’t a library’s worth of evidence to the contrary. He mischaracterizes Senator Rand Paul as a lapsed apostolic fervor (Senator Paul is in fact a Presbyterian of moderate views who frankly confesses doubts about his faith) and suggests that these religious views (which Senator Paul does not hold)—rather than the libertarian tendency for which the surname “Paul” serves as a shorthand in American politics—

explain the senator’s endorsement of accommodations for people in Davis’s situation. As with the hilarious errors of Neil deGrasse Tyson and the tiresome politicking of Bill Nye, Professor Krauss provides a reminder that expertise is generally non-transferable.

■ Jill Stuart, a British expert on space politics, objects that the plaque on the Pioneer 10 spacecraft, launched in 1972, sends the wrong message to prospective space aliens. It features a line drawing of “a man raising his hand in authority while a woman stands behind him, appearing all meek and submissive,” Stuart says, according to *The Guardian*. Her description is wrong: The woman is standing beside the man, not behind him. As for “weak and submissive,” Stuart is reading a great deal into the posture of someone who’s just standing there. In any case, “we really need to rethink . . . common messages we are sending out,” she insists. “Attitudes have changed so much in just 40 years.” If history is a guide, they will have changed 40 years from now, too, nothing will appear more dated than the present political fashion that Stuart exemplifies.

■ In 2011, a California schoolteacher began penalizing students who used the phrase “God bless you” after some sneezed. That teacher was a trendsetter. The next day, ever eager to suppress free speech, banned “Bless you,” “OMG,” “Thank heavens,” and (for some reason) “Cheers.” In true Canadian fashion, a spokesman explained: “Though no one has been offended by the phrases yet, the notion that someone could be offended by something we’re trying to prevent.” Last year, a Tennessee high-school senior was suspended for saying “God bless you” after her teacher had banned “godly speaking”; a Georgia fessor threatened students who used the phrase with “disciplinary action”; and a New Hampshire election volunteer

was dismissed for saying it to voters. Now a Texas professor has included use of the “GBY”-phrase after a sneeze in a list of forbidden “disruptive behaviors.” Defenders protest that he is

not a proselytizing atheist but merely a fusspot, and the ban is part of a wider rule against talking in class. In any case, students will increasingly be protected from the scourge of having their heads smacked by a professor. One of Yale’s residential colleges is named for John C. Calhoun, class of 1804. The South Carolinian, who was elected to Congress six years after graduating, began his long political career as a nationalist. Very soon, however, he became a paragon of slavery, the South, and disunion (he equated the nullification of federal laws with the union, and then to open a way out of it.) Although Calhoun died in 1850, his arguments and the considerable mental energy he poured into them helped assure Confederate rule. The Yale administration has urged a campus-wide debate over whether to rename the college. That raises the deep question of how much history should be sanitized. If Yale keeps the name, it must keep in mind its son’s legacy: four years of war, three quarters of a million dead.

■ Marching briskly past the point of self-parody, school administrators sent a little girl home with a stern note to her parents. They said Laura had brought a dangerous and disturbing lunchbox. “The dress code we have established requests that children not bring violent images into the building in any form,” administrators wrote Laura’s parents. “We have defined ‘violent characters’ as those that solve problems using violence. Superheroes certainly fall into that category.” The offending lunchbox contained a close-up image of Wonder Woman holding her Lasso of Truth. Feminists have spent generations preaching the virtues of strong female role models (Wonder Woman graced the cover of the first issue of *Ms. magazine*), but in 2015 liberal fainting-sensibilities on violence take precedence. Wonder Woman was said to be “as lovely as Aphrodite” and “as wise as Athena.” Too bad she didn’t have a Lasso of Sense

■ Michael Derrick Hudson, of Fort Wayne, Ind., wrote a poem called “The Bees, the Flowers, Jesus, Ancient Tigers, Poseidon, Adam and Eve” and sent it to no fewer than 40 publishers. All of them turned it down. So Hudson changed the byline from his actual name to “Yi-Fen Chou,” and that did the trick. What had sounded like a rambling stream of consciousness became pearls of Oriental wisdom, and Hudson’s poem was accepted by the prestigious poetry journal *American Poetry* by the highly respected author Sherman Alexie—at which point Hudson revealed his true identity.

■ A brown-skinned poet who gave better chance to another supposed brown-skinned poet

Talk Show Doctor Reveals Digestion Remedy That Works Instantly!

Television host and best selling author explains how a new aloe-vera extract can make bouts of heartburn, acid-reflux, constipation, gas, bloating, diarrhea, and other stomach nightmares disappear!

Recently, medical professionals and alternative medicine experts have taken to the airways to reveal a simple secret that amazed millions who suffer with digestion nightmares. And people haven't stopped talking about it since.

"I'd give anything to make it stop!"

That's what most people will say about their digestive problems. "It's just horrible says Ralph Burns, a former digestion victim. I was tortured for years by my Acid-Reflux. My wife suffers with digestion problems too. If she eats one wrong thing, she spends hours stuck in the bathroom dealing with severe bouts of constipation or diarrhea."

FDA Warns About Popular Antacids

A recent FDA warning explained that excessive use of antacids could lead to an increased risk of hip, wrist, and spine fractures. Especially in people over the age of 50.

So when an alternative was discussed on National TV, you can imagine how thrilled people were to find out they could finally get relief without having to rely on pharmaceutical proton pump inhibitors. But now, according to Dr. Liza Leal, M.D & Chief Medical Officer at Meridian Medical, your stomach problems could be over by simply drinking a small amount of a tasty Aloe Vera extract every day. It's as simple as that!

Finally There's Hope...

At first, the thought of drinking aloe vera might make some people back away. But in fact, this delicious "digestion cocktail" is doing amazing things for people who suffer with digestive problems — even if they've had them for years. Here's how it works...

Stop Stomach Indigestion

Your stomach naturally produces acid so strong, it can dissolve an aluminum spoon in

just 30 minutes! And when excess acid escapes into your esophagus, throat and stomach lining, it unleashes the discomfort of Acid-Reflux, heartburn, ulcers and more misery. Add the problems of stress, and "all hell breaks loose."

Dr. Liza Leal, a well known expert on chronic pain management explains... "*AloeCure*" can work genuine miracles. It buffers high acid levels with amazing speed, so your stomach feels completely at ease just moments after drinking it." In fact, it could wipe out stomach discomfort and frantic runs to the bathroom.



"I'm always in 'indigestion hell'. Doctors put me on all sorts of antacid remedies. Nothing worked. One day a friend said, 'Why don't you try *AloeCure*'. I was shocked! It tasted pretty good! I stopped taking the PPIs altogether and replaced it with a daily diet of *AloeCure*. Then something remarkable happened - NOTHING! Not even the slightest hint of indigestion. For the first time in 40 years I didn't need pills or tablets to avoid indigestion. Thank you *AloeCure*"

- Ralph Burns

Until Now, Little Could Be Done...

But "*AloeCure*" can help virtually anyone. Even people with chronic stomach discomfort can start to feel better right away," says Dr. Leal. And what's really exciting is "*AloeCure*" aids in keeping your digestive tract healthy, so with regular use intestinal distress stops coming back.

Digestion Defender #1: Balances Stomach Acid: Your first line of defense is calcium malate. This natural acid buffer instantly sends stomach acid levels plunging. And holds acid levels down so they are not likely to return!



Doctor recommended AloeCure® may be the most important application ever discovered for digestive health!

Digestion Defender #2: Instant, Soothing Relief: *AloeCure*® is brimming with polysaccharides, a "wonder" compound that gently coats the throat, esophagus and stomach, carrying instant relief to cells scorched by excess acid.

Here's What Doctors Are Saying!

AloeCure® is backed by important scientific studies that confirm... aloe calms stomach acid and allows your body to heal itself.

Dr. Liza Leal, M.D & Chief Medical Officer at Meridian Medical. says, "That's why I recommend it to patients who suffer from bouts of heartburn, Acid-Reflux, ulcers, and irritable bowel syndrome..."

Dr. Santiago Rodriguez agrees. "Just two ounces of *AloeCure*® reduces the acids in your stomach by ten times."

AloeCure® may be the most important application ever discovered for digestive health!

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With no sugar, no stimulants, and zero calories, *AloeCure*® is safe, all-natural and has absolutely no side effects. Just drink two ounces, once in the morning, and once at night, and start enjoying immediate life-changing relief!

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The makers of *AloeCure*® have agreed to send you up to **6 FREE bottles PLUS 2 free bonus gifts** with your order— they're yours to keep no matter what. That's enough *AloeCure*® for 30 days of powerful digestive relief, absolutely free! But hurry! This is a special introductory offer, reserved for our readers only. But you must call now!

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because of our brownness.” And they say modern poetry has no rules.

■ Precocious pop warbler Taylor Swift’s video for her song “Wildest Dreams” unfolds on a movie set located in an African veldt. She and her handsome co-star act, flirt, dance, and fight, with a menagerie of charismatic animals—giraffes, lions, hippos, etc.—appearing as extras. The video production has a 1950s vibe, and this, combined with the absence of visible black cast members, has inspired predictable complaints that Swift has “romanticized colonialism” (NPR’s music mentorator Clutch). Including a few Africans wouldn’t have helped, though; her previous video had black male and female dancers, which got her in trouble for “perpetuating black stereotypes” (rapper Earl Sweatshirt) and “playing into the historic, racist mythology about black women’s sexuality” (music critic Jessica Hopper). Shortly before that, when the black rapper Nicki Minaj whined about not having been nominated for a Video Music Award, Swift posted a condescending tweet and was furiously slapped down for not condemning “the hypocrisy of an industry that profits from the commercialization of parts of African American culture without rewarding the creators of those trends” (*the Guardian*’s Tshepo Mo ko exerted public effort to deny the deal legitimacy will create a precedent). None of this publicity will harm Swift’s sales, but it is a certainty that everything she creates can now be called racist, by omission or commission.

IRAN

Defusing the Deal

THE president has failed to comply with the terms of the Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act of 2015, authored by Senators Bob Corker (R., Tenn.) and Ben Cardin (D., Md.), and Congress should express the strongest possible disapproval—of the president’s deal, and of the ill-discipline and lawlessness that has accompanied it.

Under the Corker-Cardin legislation, the administration was responsible for submitting to Congress the entire Iran deal, “including annexes, appendices, side agreements . . . and all related agreements,” within five days of the finalized agreement. That July deadline is long past, and news of side deals between Iran and the national Atomic Energy Agency continues to emerge. The administration has tried to argue that these agreements are immaterial. This claim is irrelevant—the statute requires disclosure—and false. Reports make clear that these deals pertain directly to the enforcement-and-inspection regime that is the heart of the deal. The administration refuses to release the full text of the agreement simply because its terms would prove embarrassing.

The president has disregarded the terms of the law he signed, and Congress should not abide by those terms of Corker-Cardin as if he had. Republicans in the House

recently pressed this argument with their leaders, and a vote on the deal under Corker-Cardin was replaced with votes on three resolutions: one—authored by Representative Peter Roskam (R., Ill.), who has been stalwart on this question—declaring that President Obama violated Corker-Cardin; a second barring President Obama from suspending sanctions against Iran; and a third “approving” the deal. The first two resolutions passed while party lines; the vote to “approve” was defeated, with 218 House Democrats coming out against the deal.

The Senate, unfortunately, didn’t follow the House’s lead. It tried to hold a vote of disapproval on the deal under Corker-Cardin, but Democrats blocked it with a filibuster. As we went to press, Majority Leader Mitch McConnell was pushing to make the Iran deal conditional on Iran’s recognition of Israel and release of American hostages, a measure that Democrats would inevitably block, too. None of this has any practical effect in the short term. The president can continue to pursue an executive agreement, and, barring decisive congressional action, he has broad statutory discretion to waive sanctions.

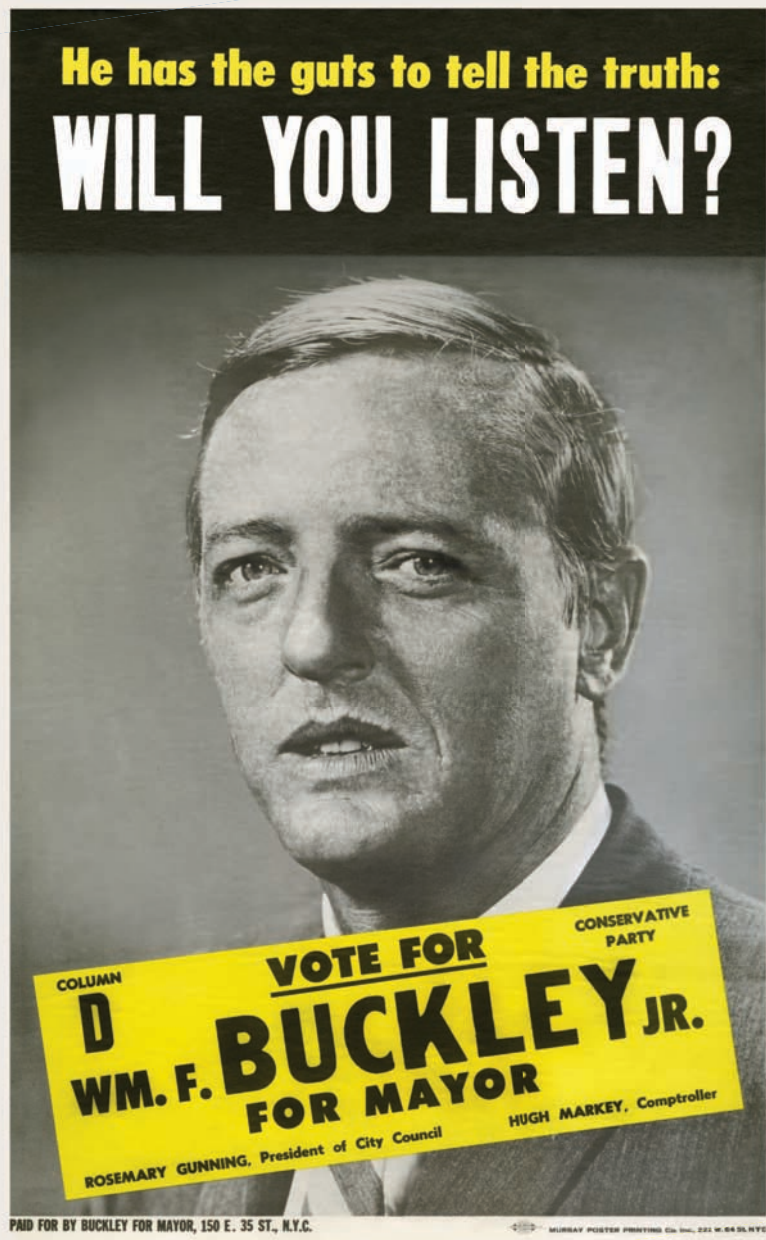
But the votes will set the table for continued opposition. The public is strongly against the deal, and continued congressional opposition will sustain this sentiment. A continued effort to deny the deal legitimacy will create uncertainty abroad, and perhaps discourage foreign nations from doing business with Iran. It will also suggest to Israel and the Gulf Arab states that, while the Obama administration has embraced a policy of restraint, that policy could change when it ends. Diminished legitimacy in the eyes of foreign nations will make it easier for a Republican president to disavow the agreement.

Republicans cannot stop President Obama from making a non-binding executive agreement with Iran, and they cannot stop other nations from taking harmful steps in reliance on it. But they can make it clear that the current administration is not the one that should survive past January 19, 2017.



Senators Bob Corker and Ben Cardin

CELEBRATE THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF BUCKLEY FOR MAYOR



What a thrill that was—Bill Buckley capturing the attention of America with his high-drama, engaging, witty (“Demand a recount!”), fearless, and, in the end, historic run for Mayor of New York City in 1965.

It all started as a lark: Buckley, tweaking the nose of New York’s liberal Republican establishment (and it’s fair-haired mayoral wannabe: Congressman John V. Lindsay), penned a column that was promoted on the cover of *National Review* with the streamer “Buckley for Mayor?”

That’s all it took. Within weeks, Buckley was found standing before a massive assembly of a shocked press corps to announce that his hat was in the ring. What ensued was four months of political fisticuffs, famous debates, and ideological bravissimo in which WFB captured the heart of America’s conservative movement (still reeling from the 1964 Goldwater debacle) and revived it.

We’re celebrating the Golden Anniversary of Bill’s historic run by reproducing his campaign’s classic, timeless poster: It’s a beaut. (Heck, we consider it *art*!) Printed in the exact color and shading of the original, on top-quality paper, this suitable-for-framing 2’ by 3’ poster is yours for only \$19.65, direct from *NR* (which includes shipping and handling).

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No War on Cops, No War on Blacks

We face instead a set of conventional, intractable systemic failures

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

U.S. police officers complain that they are under siege: In Las Vegas, four officers were shot in less than two months; Darren H. Goforth, a sheriff's deputy, was gunned down at a gas station in Harris County, Texas, while pumping gas; Lieutenant Joe Gliniewicz—the Army veteran was “G. I. Joe” to his friends—was murdered in Fox Lake, Ill., after radioing in a report of three suspicious-looking men. At a press conference following the murder of Deputy Goforth, Harris County sheriff Ron Hickman linked the shooting to “dangerous national rhetoric.” “We’ve heard ‘black lives matter,’” he said. “Well, cops’ lives matter, too.” He called the killing “senseless” and an act of “absolute madness.”

About the madness, he very well may be correct: It will come as no surprise to those familiar with the facts of American murder that the suspect in the killing, Shannon J. Miles, had a history of violent crime, including violent crimes involving firearms, or that he had been declared mentally incompetent to stand trial on charges of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon in 2012 after a fight over the television remote control at an Austin homeless shelter. The great majority of the identified murderers in the United

States—more than 90 percent in one survey, undertaken by the *New York Times*, of New York City crime—have prior criminal records. The link between violent crime and mental illness is well documented; a 2014 report commissioned by Representative Tim Murphy (R., Pa.), who is a psychologist by training, estimates that 40 percent of Americans with serious mental illness receive no treatment, and that those who do not receive treatment are 15 times more likely to commit violent crimes. Often these are the ordinary crimes that do not make the front pages, but sometimes they are criminal spectacles: Mental illness was a factor in the carnage in Newtown, Conn., Aurora, Colo., Tucson, Ariz. (where Representative Gabby Giffords was shot), the Washington Navy Yard, and the 2014 shootings at Fort Hood, Texas (not to be confused with the 2009 act of “workplace violence” at the same facility by jihadist Nidal Malik Hasan, whose military portfolio was mental health). We have dangerous criminals walking the streets for the same reason that we have people with serious mental illnesses walking the streets: because we, through our policymakers, choose for this to be so.

Whether there is anything to Sheriff Hickman’s supposition that violence

against police officers is attributable to the rhetoric associated with Black Lives Matter and the broader protest movement that grew up after the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., is unclear. Those who are less inclined to sympathize with law-enforcement complaints in these matters note that overall police shootings are in fact lower this year, by about 15 percent, than they were last year. The leading cause of on-the-job death for police officers in 2015 is the same as it has been for all of recent history: automobile accidents. Most officers who die in shootings are not killed in ambushes by out-of-nowhere assassins; generally, they are killed in the sort of situation where police deaths, while horrific, are not unexpected.

So ambush murders of the kind that claimed the life of Deputy Goforth are not, strictly speaking, a statistically large problem. But if frequency is to be our sorting metric, then we will have to have a very different conversation about firearms and violent crimes: Mass shootings on the Newtown model constitute a vanishingly small share of U.S. homicides; all deaths involving rifles (never mind those super-scary “assault rifles” we hear about in the news) account for about 3 percent of homicides, according to FBI data. In fact, the shooting of Las Vegas Metro police officer Jeremy Robertson—also an ambush, but, thankfully, non-fatal—is remarkable because the news reports trumpeting the use of “an AK-47 assault rifle” in the crime were, for a change, *almost* correct: The bullet that struck Officer Robertson in the thigh came from an SKS semiautomatic carbine, a civilian variant of the notorious fully automatic Avtomat Kalashnikova, which was standard issue to Warsaw Pact militaries. (It is a convention of American journalism that any scary-looking rifle is either an AK-47 or an AR-15 until reporters are informed otherwise, and they often require informing more than once.) Two men have been arrested and charged in that crime; Clark County sheriff Joe Lombardo is skeptical that anti-police rhetoric is a factor here, saying: “Is this a ‘war on cops’? I don’t believe so.”

Twenty-eight American police officers have died by shooting so far this year, though two of those deaths were training accidents. According to the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, 117 police officers were killed in the line of duty in 2014, the largest portion in car

wrecks. By way of comparison, in 1964, much of the rhetoric associated with the riots there were 280 police officers killed on duty. Black Lives Matter is less stupid, ing and burning that followed. What the job; in 1930, when the U.S. population was less than half of what it is today, more than 300 policemen died on duty. In 1968, the annual Square Fair (where else?) were chanting better part of the argument. The genesis hovered around 200 deaths per year, and pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon. Black Lives Matter, the Michael the decline since then is of a piece that will not soon be forgotten. NBrow by case, was poorly handled by the the general decline in U.S. crime the police, to be sure, but not by local officials in Ferguson: There isn't Charles Bronson was dispensing rough justice. much that Ferguson's officials do not Reagan-era cinematic justice. *Death Wish 4: The Crackdown*. "It's coming out like it did back in the 1960s [and '70s], with the Black Liberation Army, Pat Hearst, and all that oriented policing that led to such actions ment afoot to criminalize politics: Robert Kennedy Jr. and Adam Weinstein, the country," says Keith Bettinger, who across a half dozen failure-to-appear F. Kennedy Jr. and Adam Weinstein, the country," says Keith Bettinger, who across a half dozen failure-to-appear of *Gawker*, have argued that Americans served a full career as a patrol officer. a woman—probably made it eas- who have the wrong opinions on global prevention specialist, and statelier to believe the worst. But every serious warming should be prosecuted; Ricooper in Suffolk County, N.Y., on investigation into the Brown matter, Perry remains under indictment in Texas. the end of Long Island, and in the one conducted by Barack for the purported crime of having visited in Las Vegas. He points to Obama's Justice Department, failed to a spending bill; the sorry saga of police death rates of the 1960s find any wrongdoing by Officer Darren DeLay, persecuted for years by the state, and he fears that we could Wilson, much less the blooded exe-

Just as ambush attacks on unsuspecting law-enforcement officers loom much larger in the imagination reality, so, too, do episodes of unjustified force perpetrated by

office that is going Perry until the headed back toward those numbers of the innocent young black man case was scoffed out of court, is illustrated by the "pigs in a blanket, make them fry" he had just assaulted a convenience- tive. But there also is a tendency that's worse than in the Sixties," he says. clerk in the course of robbing the pseudocriminalize political disputes, and perhaps, but those old wounds linger (place) of "hands up, don't shoot" lore. the Right is not entirely immune to this. mentions the 1971 case of Joseph are, of course, bad police officers, While progressives gleefully deployed Diagentini and Waverly Jones, two bad police shootings. But just as the Charleston church shooter's fond NYPD patrolmen who were lured into ambush attacks on unsuspecting law- ness for Confederate iconography in Harlem housing project and murdered enforcement officers loom much larger attempt to wrong-foot southern conservatives of the Black Liberation Army, the imagination than in reality, so, too, tives, some conservatives matched the one of the killers, Herman Bell, came up episodes of unjustified force- in dishonor by gloating the fact for parole in 2014, and the hearing was by police. that the disgruntled and depraved former very emotional affairs with the victims' In Harris County, Texas, some 11,000 reporter who killed two Virginia families divided about releasing him. people attended Deputy Goforth's funeral, sion journalists during a live broadcast 35 years; Bell, who was convicted including police officers from across the was a progressive who had been since 1979 but refused to confess to the. The outpouring of grief was re- plined for wearing an Obama badge until 2010, was denied parole. The. Elsewhere, shootings have pro- camera. *Daily Kos* founder Markos Fratern Order of Police blames the practical measures: In Las Vegas, Moulitsas made an (even bigger) as Black Liberation Army for at least police have been assigned to two-man himself when he claimed that a police murders. cruiser teams rather than sent out alone. recently indicted in a terrorism case. We are not in the Sixties anymore. Similarly, episodes of excessive police been *Breitbart* contributor; he hadn't, the epithet "pigs" lives on, as does for the (documented suspected) have though he had been a diarist. *Daily* the hatred it expresses. While there may result in a new push for police body *Kos*. Elected Democrats tried very hard to persuasive evidence killing anti- cameras and other surveillance measures blame Sarah Palin for the shooting. police rhetoric to any particular act intended to reduce reliance upon guess- Representative Giffords, and we were violence, Bettinger believes that the work and unsupported testimony in eval- treated to another one of those insufficient protest movement is at the using police shootings. able "national conversations," this one least irresponsible. "They're protest- All of this speaks to a serious chal- civility in political discourse, which lacking things they don't know anything in American self-government: until it was time to call Republicans Nazis. In Ferguson, people were the inability of civic culture in decline and slave masters again. interested in the truth of the matter engage in the task, necessary in a

democratic republic, of sober evaluation. That requires many old-fashioned civic virtues on the brink of extinction, prudence and public honesty leading the list. Police departments, like any other government agency, certainly should be subject to the maximum feasible amount of monitoring and oversight. Does anybody think that the Black Lives Matter crowd is equipped to provide that? Does anybody believe that the authorities in Ferguson—or in New York City—are honest? In the Ferguson case, witnesses were caught lying left and right: “Witness 35,” from whom investigators heard that Officer Wilson shot Brown in the head at point-blank range while Brown was on his knees, admitted to making up his testimony; “Witness 40,” who told a story more amenable to the police, turned out to have been there, to have gathered knowledge of the scene from news reports, and to have opined on Facebook on the day of Brown’s murder that “they need to kill f***ing n*****s. It’s like an ape fest.” We have seen deep-seated criminality in the NYPD and the LAPD over the years, and in dozens of smaller jurisdictions, too, and on the other side, we have described as “the sinking feeling a driver experiences upon seeing police lights in the rear-view mirror.” Yes, you are

The Cop in The Stop

Enforcing traffic laws is dangerous work

BY JACK DUNPHY

YOU’RE driving along and a bit late for work, or to get the kids to school, or to some other pressing engagement. The speed limit is 35, but you know that on this stretch of road, everyone drives even 45 without fear of consequences. Such is your haste that you press the accelerator, and with it your luck, until the speedometer hits 50. You check the clock and are gladdened to know that, if the traffic signals break your journey, you’ll make it to your destination on time. And then there it is behind you: a police car, its red and blue lights flashing. The hope you felt only a moment ago vanishes, instantly supplanted by what can be described as “the sinking feeling a driver experiences upon seeing police lights in the rear-view mirror.” Yes, you are

stop is only slightly less mundane, but it presents some of the greatest dangers a police officer can encounter.

Bear in mind that the officer who pulls you over for a minor traffic violation has no idea that you are ordinarily a law-abiding citizen who happens to be in a hurry to get somewhere. Prior to pulling you over, he may have had a chance to check your license number for registration information and to see whether your car has been reported stolen, but even if such a check revealed no cause for concern, he still knows nothing about you. As he steps from his car and approaches you, he must at least briefly entertain the possibility that you will pull a gun and try to shoot him. You may therefore note that his demeanor at first seems brusque, or that he seems unduly alarmed if you fail to follow his instructions as quickly and as precisely as he would wish. To put it in terms currently fashionable, his life matters, and he must behave accordingly.

Yes, most traffic stops are for minor violations, but violent felons can and often also violate traffic laws. When I was a young and very green member of the Los Angeles Police Department, I saw a car run a stop sign. The driver pulled to the curb immediately, and I assumed he had seen me behind him and realized he was about to be stopped. Both the driver and a female passenger got out of the car unbidden, and soon I realized they were trying to encircle me as if preparing to attack. I reached for my handgun and ordered them both to lie on the ground. They complied, and when backup officers arrived I discovered that the car had been stolen. I was lucky. Only a year earlier, an LAPD motorcycle officer named Paul Verna had stopped a car for what he must have thought would be an uneventful traffic violation. The people in the car turned out to be armed robbery suspects. They shot and killed Officer Verna.

The reality is that there is no open pull to the curb to await your fare passenger got out of the car unbidden. Most drivers have had such an experience, and so on I realized they were trying to encircle me as if preparing to attack. I reached for my handgun and ordered them both to lie on the ground. They complied, and when backup officers arrived I discovered that the car had been stolen. I was lucky. Only a year earlier, an LAPD motorcycle officer named Paul Verna had stopped a car for what he must have thought would be an uneventful traffic violation. The people in the car turned out to be armed robbery suspects. They shot and killed Officer Verna.

Traffic stops can be categorized into three basic types. The first and most common is the “routine” stop, in which an officer witnesses a traffic violation, pulls the car over, and, after satisfying himself that the occupants are not a threat, issues a citation, with all involved parting ways civilly if not always amicably. But it is only in retrospect, when the stop has concluded without incident, that it can be labeled “routine.”

The second type is sometimes described as a “redirected” traffic stop.

In the case of Black Lives Matter protesting gas in his patrol car. The police, there has been a great deal of guilt-by-association. But there is plenty of ordinary guilt to go around. **NR**

“Jack Dunphy” is the pseudonym of a police officer in southern California.



Such a stop begins when an officer wit-you're right," and goes on his way. nesses a traffic violation and pulls the The tactics police use during traffic car over, but upon making contact with stops have come under public scrutiny of the occupants he detects something that late, with one incident in particular suggests there is more afoot. For exam-drawing much attntion. On July 13, ple, he may recognize the driver or aSandra Bland, 28, was found dead in a passenger as a wanted fugitive, or he Waller County, Texas, jail cell, after may see a weapon or detect the telltaleapparently committing suicide. She had odor of mari juana. In this scenario, all obeen arrested three days earlier during a the occupants will most often be ordered traffic stop that escalated into a physical from he car, and they and the car willstruggle with police officers. Police dash-be searched. camera footage showed that the stop had

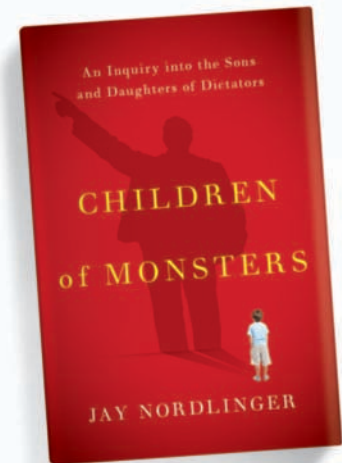
The third type is the "pretext" traffic been routine up until the officer asked stop, in which a traffic violation serves asBland to put out her cigarette before justification for stopping a car whose signing the warning he waissuing her occupants are suspected of some other for failing to signal a lane change. When offense, evidence of which the officer Bland refused, the officer ordered her to hopes to discover. In this scenario as well,exit the car. This she also refused to do the occupants can expect to be ordered outat which point she was forcefully re- of the car and, if the circumstances war-moved from the car and arrested. There rant, perhaps searched. is much to debate in the way the officer

But may a officer order someone to handled the situation, but there is no exit a car without some minimal level ofquestion that he acted legally in ordering justification? Yes, he may, just as he mayBland to get out of the car. order a car's occupants to stay inside if he A police officer is obligated to exercis chooses. The Supreme Court has recog- his authority with some discretion nized the hazards attendant to traffic stops, and sense of proportion, of course, and and inMaryland v. Wilson (1997) and a what may be technically legal in a given series of other cases, it has ruled that ansituation is not necessarily advisable. But officer stopping a car may direct the dri-a motorist who objects to being ordered ver and passengers to exit or to remainfrom his car, or to some other perceived inside at his discretion. Such a command police misconduct during a traffic stop, does not require an explanation or justifi- should resist the temptation to argue the cation. YouTube abounds with videos of case at the side of the road, where he has r people arguing with police officers who chance of winning. He should instead have stopped them. I have yet to see onhis argument to the courtroom, where even in which the officer says, "Gee, I guessbad drivers sometimes get a break. NR

LUBA MYTS

JAY NORDLINGER'S CHILDREN of MONSTERS

An Inquiry into the Sons
and Daughters of Dictators



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Pax Putinica

*Russia aims to become the
Middle East's power broker*

BY ARTHUR HERMAN

As a staging ground for great-power rivalries, the Syrian civil war bears a startling similarity to the Spanish civil war that broke out nearly 80 years ago, in 1936—the three-year conflict that set the stage for World War II.

Now as then, ruthless authoritarian powers (Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in Spain; Russia and Iran in Syria) are flexing regional muscle by helping a fellow dictator wage war on a helpless civilian population, even aiding in the destruction of entire cities—Aleppo and Homs are new Guernicas.

Now as then, Western powers, including the United States, are doing nothing, preferring a policy of non-intervention—or, in America's case, deliberate retreat—that borders on outright cowardice.

And now as then, the Western democracies are reaping the whirlwind for their weakness. For the nations of Europe, it's the refugee crisis now pouring across their borders. For the United States, it is the demise of the Pax Americana in the Middle East, which will be steadily replaced by a Pax Putinica, starting in Syria.

Satellite images released in early September confirm that Russia has been conducting military-transport flights into Syria, as well as constructing a forward air base with an air-traffic-control station, an asphalt runway, and mobile housing units for Russian troops near the coastal city of Latakia. All these add up to a permanent Russian facility for sustained air operations in support of Bashar Assad's embattled government, operations that could complicate American efforts to use the same airspace to carry out strikes against the Islamic State. Meanwhile, Russian troops—from the elite 810th Marine Brigade, which supplied many of the "little green men" for Vladimir Putin's takeover of

the Crimea—have arrived in Syria and reportedly entered combat operations against Syrian rebels.

This dramatic escalation of Russian involvement has been overshadowed by the Syrian-refugee crisis now engulfing Europe. But these two developments stem from the same source: President Obama's feckless and disastrous policy toward Syria. Obama's willingness to let Vladimir Putin deal with Assad's arsenal of chemical weapons has triggered a major shift in the balance of power in the Middle East, away from the United States and toward Russia—and Assad's other active ally, Iran.

Iranian volunteers have been fighting alongside Assad's forces since conflict broke out in 2011. Tehran has armed and trained an estimated 50,000 militiamen in Syria, including Iranian

his country's most important foreign military presence in 40 years.

Russia has taken full advantage of American weakness from the start. When President Obama failed to enforce his declaration that Assad's use of chemical weapons would cross a "red line," Putin proposed a deal in which Assad would dispose of his chemical-weapon stockpile under Russian supervision. With almost indecent relief, Obama seized on the proposal, despite the virtual certainty that its terms would never be implemented—as indeed they were not.

Then, in September 2014, Putin threatened direct military intervention in Syria if the U.S. and NATO aided anti-Assad rebels, particularly the Free Syrian Army, by conducting air strikes against the Islamic State. Obama immediately

America's passive response to Russian involvement in Syria has been astonishing but typical.

"volunteers," and is reportedly preparing to send an additional 50,000 troops to bolster Assad's force (about the number of Italian troops Mussolini maintained in Spain during its civil war). In addition, Tehran has shipped Assad missiles and other weapons, while using Syria as a conduit by which to arm its terrorist allies, Hezbollah and Hamas, in Lebanon and Gaza. In fact, Iran's military support of Assad has been its springboard for expanding its influence in the region. Now Russia is pursuing a similar policy.

America's passive response to Russian involvement has been astonishing but typical. Secretary of State John Kerry has called the Russian foreign minister and asked him to "stop arming and assisting and supporting Bashar al-Assad." It's a request the Russians will no doubt ignore. They took stock of the Obama administration long ago; they have presumably read in American newspapers that unnamed White House officials largely concede that the Syrian rebels will lose and that Assad is there to stay.

So Putin will continue to use the crisis, and Russia's growing naval facility at Tartus on Syria's coast, to establish

backed away—and now Putin has intervened anyway.

Putin surely suspects that, despite Kerry's protest, news of the Russian facilities at Latakia will be secretly greeted at the White House with relief rather than dismay. As if to confirm those suspicions, White House press secretary Josh Earnest commented on Russia's increased involvement in Syria this way: "We would welcome constructive Russian contributions to our anti-ISIL campaign"—reflecting once again the triumph of hope over experience in this administration's dealings with Putin. Meanwhile, apologists for Obama's Middle East policies will no doubt hail direct Russian military intervention not as a failure of Obama policy, but as a masterly sleight of hand by which the White House cleverly manipulated Moscow into using Russian troops to end the civil war and stem the flow of refugees to the West.

The Russians will happily concur with this rosy analysis. They are already presenting Putin's intervention as a declaration of war against the Islamic State—Putin is calling for a new "international coalition against terrorism and

extremism,” led from Moscow rather than Washington or Brussels—and as a humanitarian campaign to end the refugee crisis. This latter is a selling point in the biggest shift in the balance of power in the Middle East since the 1973 Yom Kippur War. As Obama pulls Greece has agreed to allow Russian military overflights, despite U.S. propositioning himself to make sure states will also look to Russia for arms tests, and that British foreign secretary doesn’t return.

Philip Hammond has admitted that any solution of the Syrian conflict “is going to have to be a decision made by the sponsors of the key players in Syria, Saudi Arabia—allies Obama has ignored in particular Iran and Russia.” Consider, for example, how a permanent Russian military presence in Syria (Egypt has already begun those negotiations). Putin has set himself up to be the region’s power broker, able to manage both Iran’s ambitions to expand its Shia empire and the desire of Israel and the Sunni states to maintain the status quo.

Putin’s presentation of Russia as the new bulwark against the Islamic State-step the civil war and the struggle against like Hitler’s presentation of Germany as the Islamic State have been raging non-

Nor will Russia’s new strategic presence in the eastern Mediterranean, both at sea and on the ground, hurt Putin’s standing in Europe. Putin enjoys significant leverage over both Western and Eastern Europe through his control of the spigot of Russian natural gas; he will now control, as well, the spigot of west-bound refugees leaving Syria.

Some will argue that these predictions are implausibly gloomy. Wishful thinkers will insist that Russian intervention in Syria in 2015 looks less like Nazi Germany in Spain than like the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1979—in other words, the start of another Middle East quagmire for Russia. In Afghanistan, however, the Russians were trying to impose a puppet regime; in Syria, their puppet is already in power. More important, Afghanistan became a quagmire for Russia because the U.S. steadily supplied arms and aid to the Afghan rebels. There is no sign that anyone, much less any presidential candidate, has the stomach for a similar proxy war today. The link between Osama bin Laden and the Soviets’ Afghan adventure makes such a proposal politically fraught.

In the Middle East at present, Vladimir Putin appears to have a free hand—and he will use it. He knows that securing Bashar Assad in power would constitute a formidable show of strength to the Middle East and to Europe, and would help tip the balance of power in his favor.

Because of President Obama’s disastrous foreign policy, the Pax Americana is yielding to the Pax Putnica, and Putin’s intervention in the Syrian civil war is likely to prove even more harmful to peace and freedom than Hitler’s in Spain.

NR



Break Up The Budget

*Learning from
Republican mistakes*

BY RAMESH PONNURU

REPUBLICANS are once again contemplating a defeat on the budget followed by recriminations. This season the defeat will concern Planned Parenthood: Some Republicans think that they should take a stand against federal funding for the organization in the bill to keep the government funded at the start of the new fiscal year; the top-ranking Republicans in Congress think they are sure to lose that fight and so don't want to start it.

But before Planned Parenthood, there was the standoff in the spring over funding the Department of Homeland Security. Republicans wanted to deny funding for the implementation of President Obama's unilateral amnesty for millions of illegal immigrants. And before that, in late 2013, was the struggle to defund Obamacare, which resulted in a partial shutdown of the federal government. In both episodes, Republicans were divided and defeated.

One group of Republicans blames the party's leaders for being too timorous to fight these battles through to the end; another blames conservative backbenchers for starting unwinnable fights. Both groups should turn their minds to the possibility that the way Congress considers spending legislation stacks the deck against conservative victories. While reform of that process might not be as exciting as factional infighting, and cannot substitute for either intelligence or courage among politicians, it might help.

Congressional Republicans could, for example, break up the budget—or at least the portion of the budget that is subject to yearly congressional funding decisions—into many smaller pieces. Congress currently divides the budget into twelve large bills, with each subcommittee of the House and Senate appropriations committees responsible for one. It could, however, fund the different departments of the federal government in dozens of smaller bills, and it should.

Fragmenting the budget would run counter to a theory that many congressional conservatives have implicitly accepted in recent years. They assumed that tying together as many items in the budget as possible would give them leverage over a liberal president. Congress could pass a bill to fund the government but attach a provision denying all money to Obamacare, and President Obama would have to relent to keep the government running. Or Congress could pass a bill to fund the Department of Homeland Security but deny funds for Obama's immigration order, and he would have to relent to keep the department running.

One lesson of these fights is that this theory is wrong: Tying all of this spending together doesn't increase congressional conservatives' control over any of it. It

would probably not have survived this long: At some point there would have been a House or Senate majority unwilling to pass legislation funding it or a president unwilling to sign that legislation. But Congress doesn't make an affirmative decision specifically on the NEA: It includes the money in bills funding the Interior Department. There has never been a majority in either house of Congress willing to shut down the department over the program—and it is impossible to kill the program through that bill unless the House, the Senate, and the presidency are all controlled by opponents of it or people willing to give in to them.

There is, however, a practical force working toward agglomerating many spending decisions into one bill. In recent

We should expect conservatives to fare better, on average, with many small budget bills than with a few big ones.

reduces that control. During the immigration fight, the Obama administration's most frequently made argument, which suggests it was also its most effective argument, was that holding up the Department of Homeland Security's budget endangered the war on terrorism.

Republicans would have been better off if they had been able to advance two bills: one funding the department except for the immigration services, and the other funding the immigration services but prohibiting them from implementing the disputed Obama orders. The administration would have been hard pressed to object to the first bill, and could not have scared the public quite as easily about the second.

Indeed, Republicans' conduct during these showdowns has shown that they occasionally grasp the utility of splitting up the budget. During the shutdown in October 2013, Republicans at one point moved bills to fund portions of the government unrelated to health care. They understood that they were not giving up leverage but taking some away from the Democrats.

We should expect conservatives to fare better, on average, with many small budget bills than with a few big ones. If the National Endowment for the Arts required congressional action and a presidential signature to fund it every year, it

years, especially, Congress has often failed to pass the appropriations bills on time and has had to pass "continuing resolutions," or CRs, to keep funding many of the operations of the government after the old appropriations or CRs expired.

But that practice too ought to change. Congress should enact an "automatic CR," as Heritage Foundation president Jim DeMint proposed when he was a senator, along with Representative Jeb Hensarling of Texas. They called it the "Government Shutdown Prevention Act." It stipulated that when Congress failed to enact spending bills in time for the new fiscal year, the affected agencies would be able to keep spending either at the previous year's level, at the level the House had provided for if it had passed a spending bill, or at the level the Senate had provided for if it had, whichever was the lowest.

With such a law in place, there would be very little pressure to rush through massive budget bills. Liberal congressmen and presidents, it is true, would be able to resist bills with spending cuts or conservative reforms, secure in the knowledge that programs would still be funded. But liberals would have to give up on funding increases if they took that course. Conservative congressmen and presidents, meanwhile, would also have security against liberal policy changes, and the

history of shutdowns suggests that conservatives have more to gain from taking shutdowns off the table.

A small-is-beautiful approach to budget bills and an end to shutdowns would not, however, be a panacea. The Department of Homeland Security and the immigration service within it are largely “self-funded,” that is, funded through fees that they charge rather than from congressional appropriations. Even if Congress fails to pass the annual bill funding them, they can keep going. Obama care is largely outside the appropriations process, too. Planned Parenthood gets some of its federal money from Title X, which is subject to appropriations; but it also gets federal money from Medicaid, which isn’t.

That suggests another long-term reform that ought to be on conservatives’ agenda: moving more of the budget back to him, Specialist Jessica Sanchez, was under congressional control. If Republicans have the presidency and Congress in 2017, they should pass a law denying the immigration service the ability to spend any money, including money that comes to them via fees, without congressional authorization. They should do the same for other self-funded agencies.

These reforms, once in place, would be particularly helpful for congressional conservatives the next time they faced off against a liberal president. But they are not shortsightedly focused on that scenario. Breaking up the budget would tend to make limiting government easier regardless of who runs which chamber. An automatic CR that keeps spending under tight control would work in favor of conservatives even if liberal-controlled Congress. And while greater congressional control of the budget would sometimes work in favor of liberals, Congress, it too would tend to work to the advantage of conservatives, both because they have been less likely to use the executive discretion to shape domestic policy and because the bureaucracy is not their friend.

No set of reforms is going to make it easy for conservatives to limit the size and scope of government or to reassert congressional control over it. The current budget process, though, seems to work systematically to frustrate conservative ambitions. When conservatives in Washington get tired enough of the results, perhaps they will try to change it.

Social Justice At War

Ignoring differences between the sexes will cost lives

BY DAVID FRENCH

FALLUJAH, May 17, 2018—The results of the classified investigation into the first extended ground-combat engagement by a mixed-gender infantry platoon were grim indeed. The six-hour firefight on a blistering-hot July afternoon began with an ambush. Sergeant Gregory Upshaw

was hit with two bullets, one in the thigh and one in the kneecap. The closest soldier unable to support his weight as her squad dashed for cover and called for assistance. As two male soldiers responded to the call, one was hit and killed, the other hit and wounded. Unable to render effective aid, Sanchez had to run for cover herself. The two wounded soldiers remained exposed, taking further fire (which ultimately killed Sergeant Upshaw) before the platoon was able to muster sufficient covering fire to retrieve their fallen comrades.

The fight was marked by multiple additional moments when lack of physical strength caused casualties. While the soldiers all suffered the effects of extreme heat, Specialists Kara Lund-An and Felicia Jackson were combat-effective within one hour, and Private First Class Jessica Wheeler collapsed during the third hour of combat. Additionally, male soldiers reported that their female counterparts were less able to respond to the ambush with accurate counter-fire, and four male members of the platoon blame that failure for the enemy’s seemingly extraordinary ability to get close enough to the embattled platoon to make several grenade attacks, killing Sergeant Ryan Nichols and Sergeant Andrea Johnson.

By the end of the fight, the platoon had suffered four men and one woman killed in action; five men and one woman wounded; four heat casualties, three male and one female; and one male soldier rendered combat-ineffective after watching his girlfriend die beside him. At the end of

the day, the platoon did not reach its objective and had to be pulled from the line for rest, recuperation, and replacements. Its morale is reportedly shattered, with a number of soldiers feeling that not everyone in the platoon “pulled their weight” and others traumatized by their perceived failure. The media, however, are using this engagement to celebrate the bravery of the female soldiers—bravery no one doubts—while ignoring the actual battlefield results.

That fictional report, imagined from a future fight in the Middle East against skilled and ruthless jihadist enemies, could well be the future of American ground combat—if, that is, the Pentagon ignores the results of a comprehensive nine-month Marine Corps study that compared the performance of mixed-gender infantry units with that of conventional all-male units. The results were entirely predictable, in light of the clear physical differences between men and women and the emotional realities of relationships between the sexes. The mixed-gender units performed worse than the all-male units in 93 of the 134 measured categories; in 39 tasks, there was no difference; and in two tasks, the mixed-gender teams performed better. Women had less aerobic capacity and less anaerobic capacity, got injured at significantly greater rates, and were less accurate with every single infantry-weapons system. Physically, a score in the 25th percentile of the women would be around the 75th percentile of the men.

These profound physical differences are also evident in both the Army’s and the Marines’ experience with officer and enlisted infantry training. In the Marines, 29 women have attempted the Officer Infantry Course. None have graduated (the male-graduation rate is 71 percent). More than 400 women have attempted the enlisted course, and 144 have graduated, a graduation rate of 36 percent. The male-graduation rate is 99 percent. On the Army side, two women (out of 19) completed the Ranger course. Again and again, the real-world results confirm that all-male units will display greater physical strength than mixed-gender units.

But it’s a mistake to think of military service as simply a matter of physical prowess. As retired lieutenant general Gregory Newbold recently said, it’s “artificial to constrain the debate about wo-



men in the infantry to physical capabilities.” As he notes, men who have served in combat are often reluctant to speak of their experiences, not just because the horror is difficult for civilians to comprehend but also because the bond between fighting men is beyond conventional description. That bond is the difference between life and death, between victory and defeat. As Newbold said:

In this direct-ground-combat environment, you do not fight for an ideal, a just cause, America, or Mom and apple pie. You endure the inhumanity and sacrifices of direct ground combat because “greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” This selflessness is derived from bonding, and bonding from shared events and the unquestioning subordination of self for the good of the team. But what destroys this alchemy—and, therefore, combat effectiveness—are pettiness, rumor-mongering, suspicion, and jealousy. And when fighting spirit is lessened, death is the outcome.

It is a dangerous thing to tamper with the time-tested effectiveness of all-male units by injecting not just differing physical capabilities but also sexual tension into the units. Soldiers in mixed-gender units often confront the drama of romance and romantic rivalries, and those issues would be magnified by the proximity and intensity of infantry service, where separate quarters are often a physical impossibility. How will young soldiers confront combat when their girlfriends are also

under fire—potentially wounded or killed right in front of their eyes? These very real—very human—concerns are too often brushed aside as irrelevant, but they would inevitably impair the alchemy of the unit.

For the military’s current civilian masters, however, social justice trumps all. Confronted with the results of the Marines’ nine months of work, with its comprehensive study of fighting effectiveness, the Obama administration’s secretary of the Navy, Ray Mabus, responded by insulting the women who participated, saying that the Marines—according to *Marine Corps Times*—“could have selected female volunteers who were better suited to the task of marching under heavy loads.” Even though the study included women who had received infantry training, he said that, “for the women that volunteered, probably there should have been a higher bar to cross to get into the experiment.”

A female Marine accurately described Mabus’s comments as throwing her and the other women involved in the study—despite their work and attention to detail—“under the bus.” His mind is made up, facts be damned, and he’ll likely be long gone before the butcher’s bill is paid. While there are undoubtedly individual women who are capable of achieving astounding physical feats, the strongest women are not as capable as the strongest men, and there is simply no way to integrate women into infantry units without impairing not just the overall strength of the unit but also its fighting spirit. To say

so is not to insult women who are willing to lay down their lives for their country, but rather to acknowledge biological and psychological reality.

Militaries that put women in combat, like the Red Army in the desperate days of World War II and the earliest iterations of the Israel Defense Forces, later moved them back out of direct combat based on hard-learned battlefield lessons. Mixed-gender Israeli units experienced higher casualty rates, and even before Israel transitioned to all-male units, it removed women from its more elite assault forces because they simply weren’t fast enough to keep up with the men. Women in the Red Army in World War II were largely kept out of the fighting, and those who did fight reported often having to abandon equipment or ask men to carry their gear simply to keep up. While Israel and Russia have turned to female infantry soldiers in times of national desperation, the United States is not desperate. We have the luxury of being able to build the optimal fighting machine, and we should build it.

Since World War II, America’s political leaders have developed a disturbing habit of failing our soldiers, of asking them to spill their blood while making victory harder to achieve. Now they’re about to fail our military again. Misguided notions of fairness will be cold comfort to the families of the fallen. They’ll simply wonder why the price of social justice is the blood of their sons, the blood of their daughters, and potential defeat on the field of battle.

NR

Goodbye, McKinley

The rise and fall of names

BY JAY NORDLINGER

WITH a stroke, President Obama changed the name of Mount McKinley to “Denali.” “Denali” is an Indian name, or indigenous name. “McKinley,” obviously, is not. No doubt Obama thought he was “bending the arc of the moral universe toward justice.” For years, I’ve teased a federal-judge friend of mine for working in the District of Columbia. (He likes to use this phrase, borrowing it from Martin Luther King, who borrowed it from Theodore Parker, an abolitionist pastor.)

White people have taken from Indians a lot. It’s true. I can understand how Obama was unable to resist a symbolic gesture. I can’t help thinking, however, that these gestures are much easier than combating alcoholism, obesity, welfare dependence, a culture of perpetual grievance, and suicide.

Against “Denali,” poor William McKinley had no chance. He is a dead white male, and a Republican, too. And yet, to my sense, there was something unseemly—something unsporting—about removing the name of a president who was murdered.

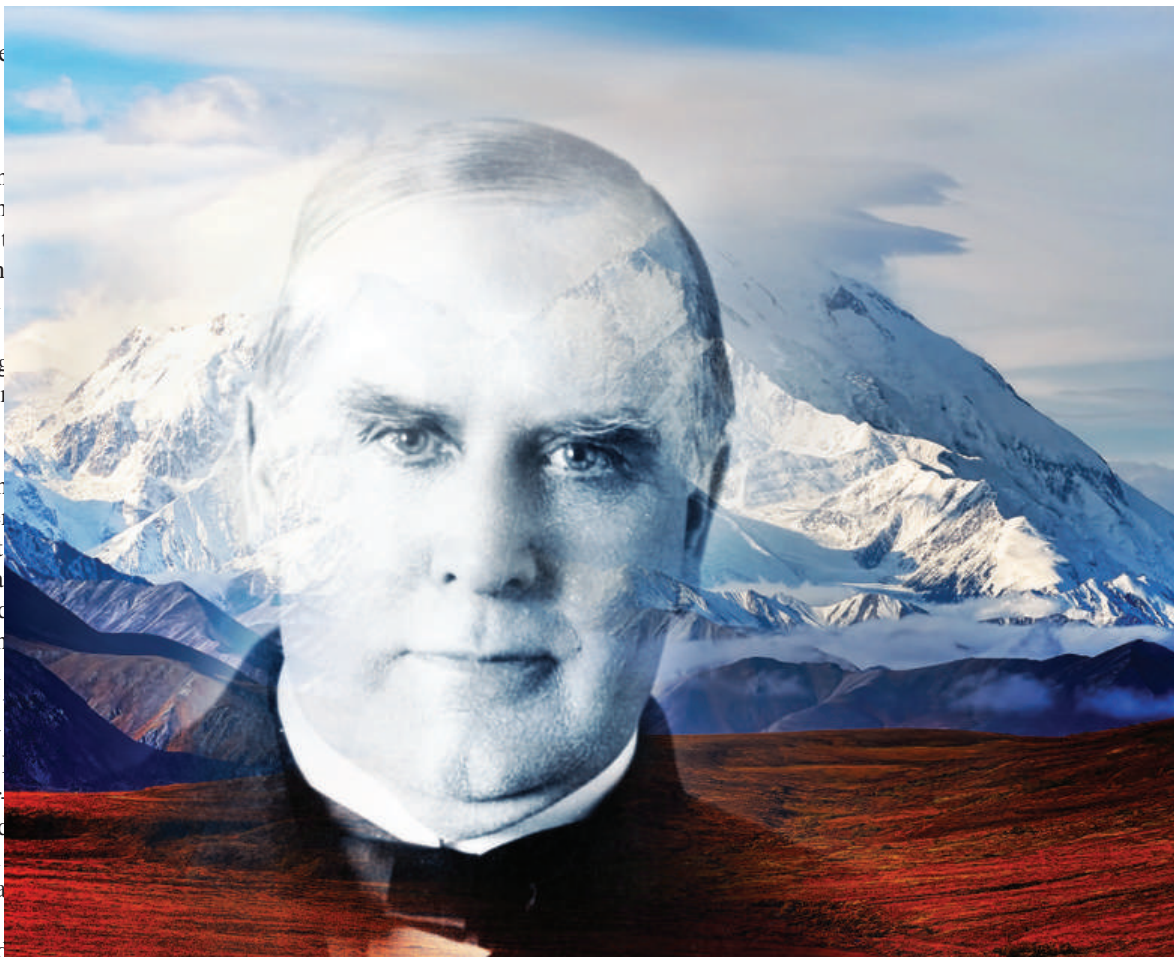
Lincoln was murdered, too, of course, and many things are named after him—but he was great as well as murdered. Garfield was murdered, and there is next to nothing named after him. School kids probably don’t know about him. Everyone knows about John F. Kennedy, who, when murdered, was young and glamorous and fashionable. People used to call the international airport in New York “Idlewild” (after the golf course that the airport displaced). But since the assassination, it has been JFK.

Robert Byrd, the West Virginia Democrat, had no shame, and his fellow West Virginians may not have had much either. More than 50 buildings in that state are named for Byrd, or for his wife, Emma Ora. If you seek Byrd’s monument, go to West Virginia and look about you.

At least I seem an incorrigible partisan Republican—which I am—I’d like to record this: When the GOP Congress of the 1990s moved to rename Washington National Airport for Reagan, I opposed this move. I loved Reagan to an almost embarrassing extent. But I thought renaming the national airport for him was a finger in the eye to Democrats, roughly half the country. Besides which, what if they did something like that to Bill Clinton?

How would I feel about Clinton National Airport? (Bad.)

People tend to think that no one will ever get used to a new name. And then, one day, the world forgets the old name. When, in 2009, the Sears Tower became the Willis Tower, Chicagoans said, “We’ll never say ‘Willis.’ It will always be ‘Sears.’” Alter natively, they borrowed a famous



line from a sitcom: “What you talkin’ ’bout, Willis?” The truth is, “Sears” will sound as quaint as “Idlewild.” I have a friend in Chicago who will always say “Sears.” (In fact, he once worked in the tower.) His children, however, are bilingual: They say both “Sears” and “Willis,” depending on the audience. *Their* children will *definitely* not say “Sears.”

It was jarring to me in 1984 when the West African nation of Upper Volta became Burkina Faso. The new name sounded so . . . odd. Thirty years later, “Upper Volta” sounds not just dated but faintly racist or colonialist. There has been no “Siam” since about 1950; the country is Thailand. The old name lives only in the Rodgers & Hammerstein musical (though I very much like an American place-name: Siam, Ohio). “Formosa” may seem a condescending

who had some trouble after the Franco-Prussian War and found it convenient to flee his country.)

Last week, I was writing about wounded servicemen who are cared for at the Walter Reed center, outside Washington, D.C. I had forgotten, or never knew, who Walter Reed was. I looked him up: U.S. Army physician (1851–1902). Instrumental in combating yellow fever. His name has lasted on that institution for a long time (since 1909). Will it be removed one day, in favor of someone newer or in some respect more desirable?

Sometimes money is involved, of course. In the early 1970s, a man named Avery Fisher endowed the concert hall at New York’s Lincoln Center. So for all this time it has been “Avery Fisher Hall.” But the Lincoln Center people

cause those men were slaveholders (and Jackson was also a brute to the Indians). The Republicans will obviously keep their Lincoln Day dinners.

“Washington, D.C.” presents a double whammy, for those who keep historical score, in the current fashion. George Washington was another slaveholder. And the “C” in “D.C.” relates to Christopher Columbus, the original sinner, according to the darkest view of America. What to do about President Obama’s alma mater, Columbia?

I felt a pang for McKinley, when his name came off the mountain. But I also recognize that nearly everything crumbles. Not long ago, I visited the Temple of Artemis, or Diana, in Turkey. This was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. People traveled from far and wide to see it. The sight of it may have crowned a

I felt a pang for McKinley, when his name came off the mountain. But I also recognize that **nearly everything crumbles.**

or insulting name for Taiwan—but, in Portuguese, the name means beautiful, which is no insult.

We are supposed to say “Mumbai,” not “Bombay.” Say “Bombay” to someone, and he may recoil, as though you had uttered a slur. In reality, there is a fierce debate among Indians about what to call that major city. A political and cultural debate. There are Indians, patriotic and proud, who would rather spit than say “Mumbai.” I don’t have a dog in this fight. But I have no patience for other palefaces who think they do.

Like you, maybe, I enjoy finding out about people whose names are on buildings, streets, or what have you. Those names are a link to the past. With his wife Liddie, the late historian Robert Conquest lived on Peter Coutts Circle near Stanford University. The first time I visited, I asked, “Who is or was Peter Coutts?” His face lighting up, Bob said, “You know, we’ve lived here for many years, and you’re only the second person to ask that.” I was flattered, I have to say. (The first to ask was an English-poet friend of the Conquests’. And “Peter Coutts” was the adopted name of a French financier

wanted to upgrade the place. To do that, they needed lots of money, and that meant an offer of “naming rights.” The Fisher family pitched a fit, and threatened legal action: They figured Avery’s name should be on the hall forever. Ultimately, they were paid off (\$15 million), and Lincoln Center found a new donor: David Geffen, of Hollywood. He pledged \$100 million, and, starting this season, the hall will be David Geffen Hall.

Across the plaza is the David H. Koch Theater, formerly the New York State Theater. In 2008, this Koch brother pledged—as Geffen would—\$100 million. And he said that, after 50 years, his name could go. A half a century was enough. “A naming opportunity should be a defined length of time to allow the institution to regenerate itself with another round of major fundraising,” Koch said. Geffen has a different view—and has said that his name must be on the concert hall forever.

His fellow Democrats have long held Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners. Those two men are the founders of the Democratic party. Recently, however, some Democratic groups have effaced the names of Jefferson and Jackson—be-

life. When I got there, it was a garbagey nothing, with a stork nesting on a lone column. Rarely has the ephemerality of things been so impressed on me.

There will be some, no doubt, who will continue to call the mountain in Alaska “Mount McKinley.” (Politics, history, or culture aside, the alliteration is nice.) They will be a bit like Dartmouth alumni who continue to call their teams “the Indians” instead of the sanctioned “Big Green.”

Speaking of mountains, Everest was named after a Welshman, Colonel Sir George Everest, who was Surveyor General of India from 1830 to 1843. He objected to the naming of the mountain after himself, in part because those who lived in the region could not pronounce “Everest.” (Neither can we, in a sense: The colonel pronounced his name “Eve-rest,” rather than as the world later would.)

Who knows what this tallest and mightiest of peaks will be called in generations to come? Nothing lasts, everything crumbles. Although our Supreme Court may still permit me to quote the Bible—Isaiah: “For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee.”

NR



Black and White in Shades of Gray

Toward a more nuanced understanding of 'white supremacy'

BY REIHAN SALAM

SINCE the shooting death of Michael Brown in the St. Louis suburb of Ferguson just over a year ago, Americans have been engaged in a spirited dialogue, to put it mildly, about the status of black people in our country. The main result of this dialogue so far appears to have been an alarming rise in what we might call racial pessimism. In August, Gallup released a survey that found that the share of whites satisfied with how African Americans are treated in the United States fell from 67 percent in 2013 to 53 percent in 2015, a decline. The share of blacks who feel the same way, while, fell from 47 percent to 33 percent over the same period, which is to say from low to dismally low.

There has been no similarly dramatic change in the material condition or the legal status of African Americans in this short interval, so what has been the source of this growing dissatisfaction? It is very simple: A rising generation of intellectuals has been offering an unremittingly bleak interpretation of the black experience in American life, and this interpretation has gained a great deal of purchase in the new media. Following the death of Brown, social-media activists, most black them young and black, have been rallying under the banner of #BlackLivesMatter, a Twitter hashtag devised by the activists Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi to draw attention to the (alleged) epidemic of police violence against African Americans. Because Black Lives Matter is a diverse, decentralized movement, one hesitates to say it speaks with a single voice. But I'd say that one of the major preoccupations shared by the leaders of the movement is the idea of white supremacy as the chief obstacle to black progress.

What is white supremacy, exactly? That is hard to say. The basic idea, as I understand it, is that our public institutions have been created to serve the interests of Americans who are seen by themselves and others as white. This “self-interest” part might seem silly, but the

boundaries of whiteness have long been contested. There was a time when the Irish didn't count as white, though they certainly do today. What about the son of a Korean immigrant father and a Czech-immigrant mother? Or the fair-skinned second-generation Iranian American who grew up among *Mayflower* descendants? To the extent that these individuals identify as white and enjoy the benefits of being seen as such, they are white, according to this line of thinking. To be sure, whiteness is not infinitely malleable. The critique of white supremacy maintains that black people are permanently excluded from whiteness, with the rare exception of those who can "pass" as white and choose to do so.

The persistence of anti-black racism has indeed disadvantaged African Americans in many ways. The abolition of slavery and the dismantling of Jim Crow laws did mean the end of exclusionary policies that made it difficult if not impossible for blacks to accumulate wealth. *Affirmative Action Was White*, the leftist Columbia University historian and political scientist Ira Katznelson documents the ways in which liberals of the New Deal and Deal eras accommodated the demands of segregationist Democrats, who were quite happy to back generous social programs as long as blacks weren't allowed to use of them. Indeed, Katznelson's provocative argument is that the advent of these programs widened the existing gap in economic and educational outcomes between whites and blacks, a development that in his view justifies racial preferences for blacks. Of course, this conclusion doesn't follow if one believes that preferences can actually harm the interests of blacks, but that is a separate matter.

Other critics of white supremacy, such as Ta-Nehisi Coates in his much-lauded essay *The Atlantic* on "the case for reparations," place heavy emphasis on the role of race in shaping American cities. First, these critics argue that racially motivated local land-use regulations, federal housing subsidies, and selective intimidation helped create hyper-segregated urban neighborhoods. Second, they maintain that a combination of overzealous policing and a racist criminal-justice system have traumatized these heavily black neighborhoods and contributed to family breakdown. There is definitely some truth to the notion that racism played a significant role in the concentration of poverty in black neighborhoods.

It is also true, however, that as Edward Glaeser and Jacob Vigdor found in a 2012 analysis of census data, the share of black Americans living in hyper-segregated ghetto neighborhoods has fallen from 80 percent in 1960 to 20 percent in 2010. Middle-class blacks today lead far more integrated lives than their parents and grandparents did. But this mass exodus of middle-class blacks from ghettos has been a double-edged sword.

The late legal academic William Stuntz insisted that the 14th Amendment guarantee of "equal protection of the laws" ought to be taken literally. To Stuntz, this phrase meant that opportunities created by desegregation led upwardly mobile all citizens, regardless of race or economic status, had the same right to the law's protection. In his view, the systematic under-policing of violent neighborhoods ought to be under a much-diminished state. What can't be denied is that it stood not just as a regrettable policy failure but also as a con-

stitutional violation that governments at all levels should be forced to address. If Leovy and Stuntz are right, one could argue that the real problem with crime-control efforts in violent urban neighborhoods is not that they're overzealous but that they are not zealous enough, or rather that they're not zealous enough about ensuring that violent criminals are brought to justice.

WHAT if white supremacy really is as pervasive and powerful a force as many left-of-center intellectuals believe? What would be the implications for those who want African-American communities to flourish?

One of the central intellectual tenets of the Black Lives Matter movement has been an emphatic rejection of the "politics of respectability," the notion that black Americans will command respect from the wider society if they embrace bourgeois norms such as persistence, thrift, sobriety, and the value of hard work. Aurin Squire, writing *Talking Points Memo* in February, elegantly summarized the case

among whites, and if white supremacy is here to stay, black people are doomed to lives of poverty, misery, and marginality. If I believed any of that, I'd be a racial pessimist too.

Fortunately, there are other ways forward. The divergence in outcomes between poor and better-off blacks demonstrates that black upward mobility is possible, even in a society in which racism persists. It could be that the most effective way to advance black interests is to build up the collective wealth and power of the black community rather than rely on white benevolence. A number of scholars, including Nancy DiTomaso and Daria Roithmayr, have documented how people pass on valuable knowledge, including valuable knowledge about employment and housing opportunities, through their social networks. And these social networks tend to be very racially segregated. While it is a disadvantage not to belong to the most-privileged social networks, less-privileged social networks can make up for this disadvantage to at least some extent by becoming even more tight-knit than the networks of the privileged. This is a strategy that many black migrants from the Deep

It could be that the **most effective way to advance black interests** is to build up the collective wealth and power of the black community rather than rely on white benevolence.

against respectability politics, describing it as the view "that systemic oppression can be overcome if we're clean, mild, moderate, and economically successful enough." Last October, Coates offered an equally bracing critique: "Respectability politics is, at its root, the inability to look into the cold dark void of history," he wrote. "For if black people are—as I maintain—no part of the problem, if the problem truly is 100 percent explained by white supremacy, then we are presented with a set of unfortunate facts about our home."

What the critique of respectability politics obscures is that preaching bourgeois virtues needn't have anything to do with catering to a white audience, or with contempt for the black poor. One could believe that the cultivation of bourgeois norms can be advantageous and, as an entirely separate matter, that dehumanizing treatment at the hands of the police is an outrage regardless of whether one behaves "respectably." Nor must preaching the centrality of self-help entail ignoring or forgiving white supremacy. Rather, accepting the centrality of self-help means rejecting what Amy L. Wax, a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania, has called "remedial idealism." Remedial idealism is the view that "because outsiders, and not blacks themselves, are responsible for present racial inequalities, those outsiders must eliminate them." The trouble is that even if we accept that outsiders ought to eliminate present racial inequalities, it is by no means clear that they will make the sacrifices that this would entail. Most people are self-interested, after all. Demanding that whites forswear their privilege won't suddenly make them do so. If the only route to black progress is a moral refor-

South pursued in the last century, and it is often employed by immigrants in our own time.

Building up wealth and power is of course easier said than done, particularly for people living in neighborhoods and regions plagued by high levels of unemployment and underemployment. Over the past several decades, there has been a large-scale migration of middle-class blacks from cities in the northern and western United States to dynamic cities in the Old Confederacy, which the Brookings Institution demographer William Frey has dubbed "the New Great Migration." Why would African-American families leave progressive bastions such as New York, San Francisco, and Portland, Ore., for Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston if the former are largely free of anti-black animus while the latter are arguably somewhat less free of it? Are blacks flocking there because those cities have a reputation for providing high-quality social services to African Americans in need, or because their commitment to racial preferences surpasses that of northern metropolises? Hardly.

While whites in northern and western cities are generally more "progressive" than those in southern cities, southern cities are more affordable and, as a rule, they offer more job opportunities. This combination means that those who are able to secure full-time employment are also in a better position to save, and therefore to build wealth. Moreover, rising black populations in these fast-growing southern metropolitan areas hold out the promise of rising black political power, which can be wielded to advance communal goals. The New Great Migration might seem unremarkable and bourgeois. But it is in its own way an extraordinary example of communal uplift, and those who want to see racial progress in America ought to celebrate it.

NR

The Inequality Cycle

Why social and economic opportunity rise or fall together

BY OREN CASS

By one measure, opportunity and mobility are thriving in America. Children born into the lowest income quintile have almost exactly equal chances of arriving in any of the five income quintiles as adults. There is only one catch: Their parents must be and stay married. Children whose parents never marry face poor prospects: More than half remain in the bottom quintile, ten times the share that reaches the top.

Tragically, this latter scenario is becoming the norm in America's "lower class," for lack of a better term, is undergoing an unprecedented social collapse that threatens to destabilize American principles. The data on marriage, parenting, employment, civic engagement, and basic values show a widening and sometimes accelerating gap between classes. This form of inequality is far more consequential than income inequality because strong families and communities, unlike high income, are the cornerstones of a free and fair society.

Being raised very poor does not cut off opportunity, but the chance about being very poorly raised?

Today's correlation between poverty and a host of social ills has led policymakers to treat them almost interchangeably and emphasize economic relief. But the correlation is historically anomalous: Fifty years ago, though poverty was no less prevalent, class-based gaps on social indicators from marriage to child-rearing to labor-force participation were small to nonexistent. This suggests that today's emphasis on economic resources is a mistake. Rather, the focus should be on disrupting the cycle of poverty in which social decay in one generation inhibits the development of the next, individuals ill-prepared for life and work face limited opportunity, and their ensuing struggles further social decay.

Unfortunately, almost the entirety of the American social safety net now focuses on relieving economic hardship, though we know that this relief reduces the incentive to work and government dependence. It explicitly channels resources to single parents and the elderly and away from young people transitioning to adulthood. Education reform emphasizes college readiness at the expense of job-readiness. The immigration debate revolves around who will affect whose wages rather than which social strata can effectively absorb newcomers.

Neither the Left, obsessed with income inequality and mindful of cultural decline, nor the Right, accustomed to catering concerns about inequality with promises of opportunity,

ideologically inclined to address the inequality that matters. Defining the challenge properly and then tackling it should be our top domestic-policy priority.

THE cycle of social decay begins before the next generation is born, as parents-to-be fail to form stable marriages. In *InComing Apart*, American Enterprise Institute scholar Charles Murray shows the relatively sudden emergence of this failure by comparing marriage rates for prime-age Americans, whom he groups into an upper class, defined as the 20 percent of Americans with college degrees working in "high-prestige" professions, and a lower class, defined as the 30 percent with a high-school degree or less working in a "blue-collar job, mid- or low-level service job, or a low-level white-collar job." To control for any race-related factors, he focuses specifically on whites.

Marriage rates were 94 percent in the upper class and 84 percent in the lower class in 1960 and remained at those levels into the 1970s. By 2010, the upper-class rate had declined to 84 percent but was holding steady, while the lower-class rate had plunged to 48 percent and was continuing its decline. Three-quarters of upper-class married couples reported that their marriage was "very happy," and that ratio has been rising; among lower-class married couples, one-half described their marriage as "very happy," and that ratio has been falling.

These trends have obvious implications for the family environment and into which children are born. According to Murray, more than 95 percent of upper- and lower-class white children were living with both biological parents when the mother turned 40 in the 1960s. But by the 2000s, while the figure remained at 90 percent for the upper class, it was plunging toward 30 percent for the lower. When he widens the lens to look at all races, the picture is nearly identical.

Murray provides many other measures of the gaping cultural inequality into which children are born today: Between the 1970s and 2000s, the percentage of upper-class people ages 30 and 49 not involved in any organization (secular or religious) tripled, while for the lower class it tripled, to more than 30 percent. During the same period, the rate of imprisonment among the lower class more than quadrupled. By 2010, only 20 percent of the lower class said that, generally, "people can be trusted," versus 60 percent of the upper class. Less than half of the lower class believed that others "try to be fair," versus 80 percent of the upper class. On both measures of trust, the trend lines by class are headed in opposite directions.

In *Our Kids*, Harvard University political scientist Robert Putnam shows how these disparities perpetuate the cycle for generations. Whereas in the 1970s parents of all education levels spent equal time with young children on developmental activities, college graduates now spend 50 percent more time on such activities with their children than do parents with a high-school degree or less. Even family-dinner time is declining for the latter group but not the former. Better-educated parents place far more emphasis on encouragement and on the value of self-reliance, while less educated ones more frequently deliver discouragement and emphasize obedience.

Putnam explains that children in the lower class face stresses and traumas foreign to the upper class. They are up to five times more likely to face abuse and violence, addiction, and the death

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or imprisonment of a parent. Those experiences, along with acknowledging his parents, both in the audience that night, ineffective and unstable caregiving, impair learning and youth taught me that there's dignity and honor in a hard development of "executive functions" such as concentration," he said. "You taught me that you look out for your self-discipline, and problem-solving. All these consequences, you never look down on anybody, and you treat every occur independently of public schooling and, largely, without respect." He told the story of his upbringing in a small public schooling has even begun. By the time they reached school, mother and father both worked, of his mother's even 72 percent of middle-class children know alphabet, Putnam actually running a small business help pay his college tuition, reports, compared with 19 percent of poor children. and of all the other men and women in town who "worked

These problems in turn perpetuate the cycle by diminishing to put a little something away every week so their opportunity and career prospects. Between 1960 and 2010, their grandkids could have a better life." Murray reports, the percentage of upper-class households with sons intended this account to outrage his fellow Americans. full-time worker declined from 90 percent to 87 percent. While town was in the unfortunate half of the two Americas, the lower-class decline was from 81 percent to 53 percent. In his telling, he grew up on the wrong side of a divide so, as the next generation its own families in its own communities, one can only hope the lower class will manage to hold those "who work hard and still struggle to make the eroding ground on which their parents stood. The trend, "live paycheck to paycheck." "It doesn't have to unfortunately, suggest they have little chance even of that, say, he insisted, over and over again. cycle spirals downward and decay engenders yet more decay. argument made little sense. Wasn't he, in fact, living the American dream? The material hardship he assailed looked surmountable, his opportunity substantial, his achieve-

D ISMAY over this widening gap between classes seems impressive. at first like yet another complaint about income inequality. It is not. These statistics measure not income but rather the markers of social health. This may offer abundant opportunity. Their data show that of closely correlated today, but income inequality has become a permanent fixture in American life. The data here, by contrast, show that major gaps are emerging in areas of life that have not historically been significant sources of inequality at all. quintile, while 20 percent, 20 percent, and 19 percent land in the top three quintiles respectively. The distribution is almost perfectly even, with the odds of remaining at the bottom a

stifles opportunity will replicate itself by leaving those born into hard with no viable exit. In such conditions, if faced beyond an individual control too often dictating his situation in life, markets and limited government become hard to defend. Conservatives rightly argue that low comes in one generation need not dictate outcome in the next, and that come inequality need undermine opportunity. But this argument sound only if critical economic endowments are available to all—precisely the ones undermined by social decay.

Consider the quintessential depiction of income inequality in J. Edwards's "Two Americas" speech at the Democratic National Convention. Edwards began



ally lowest. The community of strong families that Edwards and traditional values as social bedrocks that a government described would have played a critical role as well. Raj Chetty or check can never replace. Conservatives are uniquely and his colleagues from Harvard's Equality of Opportunity Project have found that the fraction of children with single parents is the best predictor of upward economic mobility in a region, whereas the region's level of income inequality is a significant predictor.

But elements in Edwards's upbringing that might have mitigated his economic hardship—a two-parent family instilling strong values, a community filled with hard-working role models committed to the betterment of their children—are exactly what have now gone missing in lower-class America.

What if, in addition to having few financial resources, Edwards had had no consistent caregivers and those adults who were in his life had regularly exposed him to stresses and conditions in which a child is born and raised. Unemployment and community had lacked role models, and the broader culture had reinforced destructive norms and values? What if, in other words, his upbringing had borne no resemblance to the story told, but had fallen squarely within the experience of the class today?

Beyond a certain point, social inequality prevents children the lower class from having what they need to get ahead. America has already passed that point or is merely hurtling toward it matters little. Recent data show little change in the rate of upward mobility—that is, the share of those born in the lowest income quintile who reach higher quintiles as adults. But the K–12 system is not solving the problem, but it's also view is backward-looking; it focuses on what happened to children of the 1970s and '80s who are now in their thirties. If one projects the future by linking Murray's and Reeves's and Chetty's analysis of social mobility, the forecast is dismal.

Even if the full effects come only after the cycle of social decay completes another turn, the crisis is here already. Social inequality is insidious because it transmits itself across generations by interfering with opportunity. Its self-reinforcing nature produces a downward spiral that is difficult to escape.

Worse still, the social collapse is occurring in absolute terms than relative terms and represents a true worsening of life being in America. One common rejoinder to concerns about income inequality is that the bottom's success relative to the top's is unimportant so long as the bottom's condition is improving. (For instance, as the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector has observed, the percentage of poor households with air conditioning increased from 41 percent in 1980 to 78 percent in 2005.) But social inequality is developing through the opposite dynamic: As the upper class holds steady, the lower class is falling away.

The language of economics does not apply: There is no "social business cycle" expected to turn from social "bust" to social "boom"; no rising social mobility will lift all boats; no growing social pie will offer everyone a larger slice.

As students approach high-school graduation, a program to reduce social inequality would actively support transitions to employment at least as strongly as transitions to college. Universal higher education might be a noble aspiration, but it unfairly impair opportunity? If we do, it should affect what outcomes we consider just and what level of schooling—often the same group suffering from social decay. government intervention we demand. But the situation is not fundamentally challenge to some conservative assumptions; it also reinforces conservatives' emphasis on family and community.

aimed at high school should consistently incorporate vocational training, internships, and apprenticeships. A high school's success should be measured by how many of its graduates enroll in college—or find full-time work. We should spend more money getting people into jobs that develop skills than we spend subsidizing college tuition.

In the labor market, policy should treat low-wage employers as an asset rather than as the enemy. Those employers offer the best hope that many unskilled workers have of climbing onto the first rung of the economic ladder, learning new skills, and earning a living. Policy should encourage such employers' hiring and training of otherwise unqualified workers. Policy should also reward workers for taking low-wage jobs. The best option would be to aggressively subsidize low-wage work, for both the employer and the employee, using dollars we now spend on other safety-net programs. Crucially, the subsidy should treat all workers equally, without regard to family size or marital status: The goal is to encourage work and move people

models for unionization that differ entirely from ours. Constructive labor-law reforms could help employees organize when they want to while reshaping the scope of union activities to emphasize worker well-being, restrict damaging collective-bargaining agreements, and clearly separate the core task of workplace representation from any tangential political efforts.

Finally, government policy can strongly influence community formation even—and especially—for those with few skills and little money. Housing and zoning policies that dictate the physical formation of communities can have enormous positive or negative effects. Local governments should adopt more liberal, market-oriented planning regimes that allow multi-family housing development in prosperous urban areas. Such policies would pay a double dividend of reducing housing costs and allowing more lower-class households to join already strong communities. A broad coalition including the hardest-core libertarians and the most passionate social activists often

The goal is to encourage work and move people from school or unemployment into the work force, not to channel resources on the basis of need.

from school or unemployment into the work force, not to channel resources on the basis of need.

Relatedly, we should revitalize the employer-employee relationship. Enthusiasm for the “sharing economy” and the trend toward independent-contractor relationships often overlooks the drawbacks of abandoning traditional employment. The option of working for oneself has benefits and might be the best choice for some, but it can leave workers disconnected from a business and from fellow employees, reducing stability and community. Further, as economist Tyler Cowen has observed, the independent-contractor structure places a premium on time management, self-motivation, and self-instruction, which disadvantages workers who lack such skills.

If market forces alone were dictating the shift toward independent-contractor relationships, policy intervention might be unwise. But many employers are discarding traditional work arrangements because they wish to avoid regulation, not because they prefer less control over their work force. A compromise that reduces regulatory burdens while expanding the arrangements that qualify as employment could benefit employers and employees, improve economic efficiency, and still support the evolution of new business models.

We could also enlist unions in the effort to reverse social collapse. Many unions are rightly criticized for benefiting their leadership and political patrons at the expense of both employers' and employees' long-term interests. The unionization of public employees has also proven an ongoing, unmitigated national disaster.

But a union can serve as a beneficial civil-society institution for low-wage workers in difficult jobs, helping them acclimate to the working world, develop good habits and skills, gain access to benefits, and form communities. Some unions in America work better than others, and some countries have

loses out to intense NIMBYism on this issue. But properly defining the stakes might at least prompt second thoughts from those opposing development.

Immigration matters, too. Through the lens of income inequality, the immigration debate often focuses on measurements of GDP and wage growth. But if the issue is social equality, the question is different: Are the communities that immigrants will join robust, resilient, and prepared to assimilate newcomers and foster their upward mobility? If the answer in lower-class communities is no, then an influx of low-skilled immigrants is likely to accelerate rather than slow the cycle of social collapse.

This same reorientation toward social rather than income inequality has implications for any number of policy areas, including the tax treatment of marriage, the participation of religious organizations in the delivery of public social services, even the role of public broadcasting. (One recent study showed that access to *Sesame Street* had effects comparable to those of preschool programs.) And no discussion would be complete without looking beyond policy and mentioning the crucial role that political, cultural, and community leaders can play through the themes and values they emphasize. Social activism by leaders is not a policy prescription, but here it may be every bit as powerful.

Conservatives must tackle this challenge. Reverence for the gradual evolution of society and skepticism about government's ability to exert a constructive influence go a long way toward explaining why the Right often defends the social status quo so aggressively, and why it is called “conservative” in the first place. But now the status quo leads toward collapse. For those in the lower class, the family and community pillars around which the conservative worldview is centered are near to toppling. If they fall, they will take opportunity for millions with them, and they may never be rebuilt.

NR



The Long View

BY ROB LONG



Text

Europe on Ten Euros a Day! *The ISIS Guide!*

The COMPLETE guide to Europe's out-of-town suburbs where most make your time as a "refugee" more capitals of food, fashion, and fun! "refugees" will be housed, but then enjoyable and make sure you get the

Now that you're in Europe for doesn't mean you can't grab you most out it: while, I'm sure you're thinking: RER card and head into Paris 1. Learn to say *bonne nuit* and *merci* Hey, what the heck do *Incels*? Center for *café crème* at the world like a local. A little politeness goes a Well, ISIS Guides is here to help famous *Café de Flore*, where noted long way. Sure, you're there to de- Grab this guide, get out of your tedious homosexual intellectuals stroy the degenerate and immoral city, and see the sights of Old gathered to speak blasphemies trappings of a Satanic civilization Europe—before it becomes New against You Know Who and where and impose the merciless rule of the Europe!

While you're waiting to be acti (some say overpriced) coffee and mean you can't do it with a smile! vated, why not take advantage of pastries and upscale talk. Stroll the When snatching the girl children your proximity to some of Europe's *septième arrondissement* and mar- away from their families to marry off most interesting and historic sites? vel at the sheer number of museums so elderly Afghans or rounding up See them before your mission to academies, and places of learning the boy children for religious indoctrinate them all to rubble is set in that will have to be destroyed! Antination, remember that you're a motion!

Ready? Set? Let's go!

BERLIN:

Berlin truly is one of Europe's changed publicly when the Caliphate demolition needs, remember that for most refined and stately capitals, as declared.

world center for art, music, architecture, and the avant-garde. You can

AMSTERDAM:

get lost in Berlin's elegant gardens, Amsterdam! The city of canals! card guys are going to be out of work its galleries, and even its (shhhhh!) Wooden shoes! Windmills! The soon—who's going to want to visit a *Biergartens*—you might as well Dutch are famous for their cheese pile of rubble where the Notre-Dame take a look at what all the fuss and their Old Master paintings—Cathedral once was, right?—so be about! Before you make the locals many of which are displayed in the ice. A smile and a wave really can say *auf wiedersehen* to their heads, newly remodeled Rijksmuseum. be the best ambassador.

a sip of the local *liefeweizen* won't Don't miss a canal-boat ride or a 3. Try not to set anyone on fire kill you, and it just may disarm this visit to the Anne Frank House before you're officially activated and locals enough that they won't notice where the Myth of the Holocaust is your mission is given the "go code" you setting their wives on fire perpetuated in a series of truly over from ISIS HQ. It's just a courtesy to Berliners love their techno music the-top and utterly preposterous lies your host country.

and their underground club scene, told in diorama and video presenta- 4. Enjoy the local food! (Halal but getting in is not easy—make it. The Dutch are brilliant engi-only!)

sure you show up wearing as much as possible—much of the country is below black as possible—so, basically, sea level—and a trip to the water's come dressed as one of your wives—edge is a must, to see the complicated and try not to appear to be enjoying earthworks and levees that keep yourself. In other words, you'll feel the entire country from flooding. right at home!

Destroying those works, of course, is what some of you "refugees" will be tasked with, as the Dutch are also

PARIS:

Ah, Paris! The City of Light famous for their tolerance.

Your time here will probably be Don't be an Ugly Jihadist!

spent in the dream *banlieues*, the Here are some simple ways to

out-of-town suburbs where most make your time as a "refugee" more capitals of food, fashion, and fun! "refugees" will be housed, but then enjoyable and make sure you get the

Here are some simple ways to out-of-town suburbs where most make your time as a "refugee" more capitals of food, fashion, and fun! "refugees" will be housed, but then enjoyable and make sure you get the

the fashionable set still gather for Divine Caliphate, but that doesn't

mean you can't do it with a smile! When snatching the girl children away from their families to marry off elderly Afghans or rounding up the boy children for religious indoctrination, remember that you're a guest in this country.

Parisian of all activities: sitting with 2. When pacing around the monuments to their false and grotesquely the people walk by, almost all perverted religion in order to get the whom will have to be beheaded proportions right for the eventual

many people in the area, this is a livelihood. The snack vendors and the ice-cream salesmen and the post-

card guys are going to be out of work pile of rubble where the Notre-Dame once was, right?—so be about! Before you make the locals many of which are displayed in the ice. A smile and a wave really can be the best ambassador.

Don't miss a canal-boat ride or a 3. Try not to set anyone on fire before you're officially activated and your mission is given the "go code" from ISIS HQ. It's just a courtesy to your host country.

4. Enjoy the local food! (Halal engi-only!)

When to Pooh-Pooh a Military Coup

S HOCKER headline on the website *Political Wire*: likelihood of the situation has no impact on your ability to conjure it up. “Many Republicans Would Support Military Coup.” Presumably these are people who watch the next poll question: “If elected leaders of the federal government began to violate the Constitution, would you support or oppose the military stepping in to take control of the federal government?” (To which you might have answered “Began to violate?”)

No details necessary, right? It fits the narrative. Democrats: 36 percent yes, 37 percent no, 27 percent unsure. Republicans: 55 percent yes, 21 percent no, 24 percent unsure. The last answer is probably the best, because it doesn’t know what that violation might be. Obviously, it tudes toward the military and politicians. Most Americans wouldn’t be some niggling little tweak like rewriting immigration policy through executive order, or pretending to fire tax policy through executive order, or pretending to fire tax policy through executive order. Then the poll treaty is just an agreement, which is like saying that posed some real stumbers, like “Do you believe that the military has a duty to protect the Constitution against foreign enemies?” Many weren’t sure, perhaps because they had no idea it would have to be big, and that’s where it gets hard time imagining soldiers bursting into the National Archives as ISIS agents brushed Wite-Out onto the founding documents, requiring door-to-door confiscation, there would be no shortage of progressives insisting that we had

But Question 14 got all the press. It asked: “If the military matured into the sort of society Piers Morgan would be proud to call home. For many on the left, the U.S. military taking over the powers of the Constitution is a hoary holdover, a ghoul-white hand of the past clamped over the brave mouth of enlightenment, if the right person said that the First Amendment should protect hate speech about the effect of climate change on rape culture, well, put it in a Prius and drive it to the trash dump.

Oh, sure. For example: During a press conference in 2023, the president sneezes so hard his face mask falls off, should the protect hate speech about the effect of climate change on rape culture, well, put it in a Prius and drive it to the trash dump.

Democrat, the press would laugh it off as a “Hall of Mirrors” prank,” even though he was talking about lighting the White House Christmas tree and his tongue flicked out 17 planks in the Constitution, like the right to abortion or to and snared a fly. But ordinary folk would start looking for proof that our elites were, in fact, bipedal lizards of National Guard. *Bravo Team will secure the penumbras; Alpha Team will protect the emanations.* All the house-to-house not have seen it? I mean, Bill Maher on the TV would combat expertise gained in the Iraq War would be time, and no one suspected?

If the military stepped forward to drive out the lizard people, I would support it. I would not trust Congress. I stand by the Bill of Rights’ guarantee of equal access to catering. to reason that the Senate would be full of lizards. Besides, it might take a military coup for people to realize go on *Face the Nation* and argue that their underground underrepresented women are in the armed forces. slave factories keep a lot of people off the unemployment rolls. Sure, the mohair subsidy turns out to be a colossal farce, and it’d be all people in uniform, and you’d implanting thought-control chips in the brains of newborns, but it’s not worth shutting down the government over a fight to defund it.

In this instance, I would like the military to intervene the purely theoretical intervention of people who before Hollywood makes a sitcom about a gay couple sworn to uphold and protect it. In related news: Fantasy who discover that one of them’s a lizard. It’s a metaphor is quite popular.

I bring all of this up only because of that headline. It Barring that set of circumstances, I am loath to agree that the progressive suspicion that the Right wants the military should stage a coup. But I can’t imagine an all-powerful government that can control the quotidian details of people’s lives because it has a monopoly models trained in mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. The uniform force. As you might expect, that makes the progressives nervous.

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.

That’s *their* racket.

NR

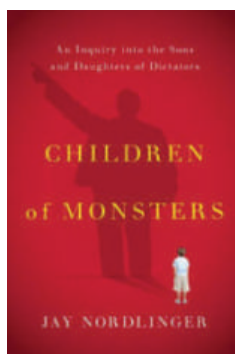


Text

Books, Arts & Manners

Living by Lies

DANIEL J. MAHONEY



Children of Monsters: An Inquiry into the Sons and Daughters of Dictators, by Jay Nordlinger
(Encounter, 336 pp., \$25.99)

DESPOTISM is as old as the 20th century remained unequivocally like all subsequent quotes unless political condition of man loyal to the tyrant-father or tyrant otherwise attributed, are from Nord - and is the antithesis of freedom and father. This is true even of the (inger.) Saif al-Islam "tried to go and decent human life. In relatively normal ones who themselves straight," but when his father's dicta- the 20th century it took an impressible not become monsters. Family loyalty came under assault in 2011, he, variety of forms. There were those, a natural and generally admirable too, murdered and persecuted oppo- who killed, immiserated, and impris- human phenomenon, in the case of ofents of that dictatorship with aban- oned in the name of building truth- these souls fatally undermined the don. He made the choice to defend the "revolutionary" societies. These were ability to see clearly and from a family business. He "grew a beard in the the ideological tyrants—Lenin, Hitler, spectve that does justice to truth and style of fundamentalist Muslims . . . and Stalin, Mao—who killed in the name of conscience. Even Edda Mussolini gave wild-eyed rants on television." of perverted ideas—Communism, Ciano, whose famous diplomat hus-He now rots in a Libyan prison, his lib- Fascism, National Socialism, revolu- band, Count Ciano, was murdered by ralism (and Western connections) a tion, progress. There were the older father, eventually reconciled with thing of distant memory. fashioned despots—Bokassa, Amin, her father's name and legacy. Saddam Some monster sons stand out in a very Duvalier, Mobutu—who read like a Hussein's daughters saw their hus-competitive pack. Uday Hussein was a page ripped out of the historians hands brutally murdered after return-psychopath of the first order and clearly antiquity: They needed no ideology ting from exile in Jordan in 1995; they named his self-designation as "Abu justify their depredations. Some, such remain to this day among his mo-Sarhan," the Wolf. He had no empathy, as the Kims in North Korea, combin- impassioned, militant partisans. The no concern for other human beings. sincerely held ideological fanaticism grandson of Mao basks in the reflected easily Stalin was a drunkard and a with the pure capriciousness of the glory of one of the great mass martyr and revealed the "moral sterility ideological tyrant. All despots showerers—and ideological tyrants—of of Stalinism" (as the Russian historian contempt for the moral law and elem- the 20th century. The vast majority Dmitri Volkogonov once phrased it). tary human decency. the "children of monsters" have cho- Nicu Ceausescu was appalling in every

Mr. Maboney, the author of The Other Solzhenitsyn: Telling the Truth about a Misunderstood Writer and Thinker, holds the Augustine Chair in Distinguished Scholarship at Assumption College.

NR senior editor Jay Nordlinger hated souls and specialized in brutal-written a gem of a book that is atizing killing, and raping with impunity an authoritative guide to 20th-centuryty. Some—Jean-Claude Du valier, Kim despotism and, even more compelling-Jong-il, Bashar Assad, and Kim ly, an astute moral and psychological-long-un—became successor despots, study of the children of 20 of the worst uneven applications of cruelty dictators of the 20th century. (Not all fanaticism.

were outright monsters: Nordlinger Bashar Assad wanted to opt out of convincingly argues that the Spanish politics and practice the ophthalmology strongman Francisco Franco—a mod- for which he was trained in London. erate authoritarian for much of his But the early death of a brother—the rule—was a “relative lamb” com-chosen heir—brought him unexpect- pared with the others.) The book hadly to the forefront. With the coming its distant origin in a trip to Albania, the Arab Spring and the resultant While there, Nordlinger inquired Syrian civil war, this reluctant tyrant whether the cruel and fanatical Al has become a national butcher, killing banian tyrant Enver Hoxha had had more people than his tyrannical children, and, if so, what they and their Hafez Assad ever did. He has lives were like. As it turned out, continued the family business with were unapologetic defenders of their impressive ruthlessness. tyrant father. Colonel Moammar Qaddafi’s son

tyrant father. Colonel Moammar Qaddafi's son Saif al-Islam Qaddafi knew that despotism was "dark and wrong" and tried to take on the airs of a Western liberal and grandchildren, of the tyrants of the modernizer. (The words quoted, the 20th century remained unequivocally like all subsequent quotes unless loyal to the tyrant-father or tyrant otherwise attributed, are from Nordreggrandfather. This is true even of the younger.) Saif al-Islam "tried to go relatively normal ones who themselves straight," but when his father's dictatorship did not become monsters. Family loyalty came under assault in 2011, he, suddenly, a natural and generally admirable too, murdered and persecuted oppositishuman phenomenon, in the case of the offspring of that dictatorship with abandon. He made the choice to defend the ability to see clearly and from a family business. He "grew a beard in the perspective that does justice to truth and style of fundamentalist Muslims . . . and me conscience. Even Edda Mussolini gave wild-eyed rants on television." Ciano, whose famous diplomat husband now rots in a Libyan prison, his libband, Count Ciano, was murdered by socialism (and Western connections) a father, eventually reconciled with thing of distant memory. her father's name and legacy. Saddam Some monster sons stand out in a very Hussein's daughters saw their husband-competitive pack. Uday Hussein was a lofinds brutally murdered after return-psychopath of the first order and clearly from exile in Jordan in 1995; then, he named his self-designation as "Abu remain to this day among his mother Sarhan," the Wolf. He had no empathy, impassioned, militant partisans. The no concern for other human beings. grandson of Mao basks in the reflected glory of Stalin was a drunkard and a glory of one of the great mass murderers and revealed the "moral sterility of tyrants—and ideological tyrants—of Stalinism" (as the Russian historian the 20th century. The vast majority of Dmitri Volkogonov once phrased it). the "children of monsters" have chosen. Nicu Ceausescu was appalling in every sense to "live by lies," to diminish their, drunk and crazy.

eminently decent), Valentin Ceausescu, Nzanga Mobutu, and Pol Pot's daughter from late in life, Sar Patchata (who seems to have no awareness that her father was one of the great killers of modern times). The rest either defend "necessary murder," in Auden's memorable words, or claim that their fathers were merely defending the laws that were in place at the time (the risible claim of the wholly unapologetic Hoxha family).

Two children of tyrants stand out for a moral seriousness that led them to "live not by lies," in the celebrated phrase of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. This phrase, this imperative, serves as the moral center and thematic core of Nordlinger's book. He could not have chosen a better one. The lie is at heart

Svetlana "did her best" given "the circumstances of her almost unimaginable life." She had a conscience and refused to follow that path of the lie. As confused and troubled as she sometimes was, for the most part "she followed the Solzhenitsyn maxim of 'live not by lies.'" In her "lay a greatness," a greatness obscured by those who adopt a reductively "therapeutic" approach to her life.

Fidel Castro's daughter Alina Fernández defected to the United States in 1993, joining his sister, who had fled the island prison in 1964. Alina could not close her eyes to the reality of life in a Communist despotism. She did not like the "surveillance that was sometimes inflicted on her" and did not want her daughter to grow up

with courage and humanity, and has done genuinely good work for peace and reconciliation in Uganda. One of the Ayatollah Khomeini's grandchildren, a liberal religious cleric named Hussein, publicly compared his grandfather's rule unfavorably with the shah's and the depredations of the Mongols, boldly rejecting what he did not hesitate to call a new "religious totalitarianism." He even called on the United States to help liberate Iran as it liberated Iraq in 2003–04.

Children of Monsters is fascinating on many levels. One learns a great deal about the human costs of despotism, the lives lost and souls damaged beyond repair. The book is filled with marvelous tidbits: We learn that the maternal uncle of Saddam Hussein

Some of the children and grandchildren came short of living in the truth but at the same time **refused to simply succumb to the lie.**

a denial of an order of truth that makes humanizing demands on our hearts and souls. The lie covers over the clear evidence of conscience and makes us complicit with evil. Violence and lies are the twin pillars of ideological despotism, and mendacity is inherent in despotism of any sort. In one of her autobiographical works from the 1960s, Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, explained that her turn to Christianity represented the rejection of "evil, the lie." She knew that systematic mendacity is never far from radical evil. Defecting to the West in 1967, she failed to find sustained happiness in the free world. Svetlana led a troubled life, one that had no small amount of paranoia, confusion, and moral failure. She even redefected to the Soviet Union in 1984, only to regret her decision almost immediately; after 18 months, she was allowed to return to the United States. But she saw the full truth about her father and totalitarianism and had the courage to write about it in two books that "ought to endure." Nordlinger is right that those books, *Twenty Letters to a Friend* and *Only One Year*, "are true, brave, and beautiful." He is also surely right that

in a police state. In 1997, she published a "fascinating and highly valuable book" that exposed Castroite despotism for what it was. She, too, chose to live not by lies, and raised her voice fearlessly.

The children Nordlinger admires most are the defectors, who had "uprisings of conscience and saw reality for what it was." This was far more difficult for Svetlana than for Alina, who never lived with her father and was less close to the source of the evil. This book shows in myriad ways that family loyalty has its limits, that our ultimate loyalty must be to truth and decency, even if most of us, most of the time, can conjugate the requirements of conscience and family life with relative ease and grace.

Some of the children and grandchildren came short of living in the truth but at the same time refused to simply succumb to the lie. Idi Amin's son Jaffar has been, at times, "a rank apologist for his father: a white-washer, a denier." He claims, in a book on his father, that the Ugandan dictator killed only 10,800 people and not the 300,000 of which he is plausibly accused. But Jaffar has also reached out to some of his father's victims

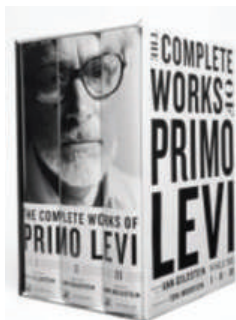
who raised him and later became mayor of Baghdad was an admirer of Hitler and penned a little book in 1940 called "Three Whom God Should Not Have Created: Persians, Jews, and Flies." The apple did not fall far from the tree. For his part, Saddam profoundly admired Stalin, while Ceausescu admired Mao and Kim Il-sung (even having the latter's book on *juche*, the ideology of North Korean Communism, translated into Romanian). And the cruel and cannibalistic Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire had 50 children from 17 or 18 wives. One of the sons was named Charlemagne and died penniless in the streets of Paris at the age of 31.

Jay Nordlinger has written a book that expertly delves into human evil while richly illuminating the resources of the human spirit. *Children of Monsters* is a profound contribution to the study of 20th-century despotism, and to the moral psychology of family life under the worst regimes. It is a singular contribution to the literature of anti-totalitarianism. In it, high journalism meets moral and political reflection of a serious and very accessible sort.

NR

The Witness

DAVID PRYCE-JONES



The Complete Works of Primo Levi, edited by Ann Goldstein (Liveright, 3 vols., 3,008 pp., \$100)

PRIMO LEVI was a prophet who his wife moved in with him. Levi resisted the moral nihilism self was away just once, for the year that is the particular mark of the 20th century. Deported in 1944 to Auschwitz, to which he always referred as the Lager, its German name he survived and then spent the rest of his life trying to make sense of what had been through. “Someone who has experienced the Lager,” he summed up his history of the world, a witness by and by duty.”

Other survivors have written in anger of recrimination, and self-pity. At times Levi gives way to these natural reactions, but a unique spirit of inquiry informs his books, especially *This Is a Man* (1947) and *The Drowned and the Saved* (1986). How had it come about that mass murder was now a model of industrial process? On one memorable occasion in the Lager, the extreme brutality of one of the SS guards prompted Levi to dare to ask him, “Warum?”—that is to say, Why? “Hier ist kein Warum,” this SS guard answered: Here there is no Why.

The whole range of Italian academic specialists have been taken on board editors and translators of these hefty thousand-page volumes of Levi’s collected work, with the obvious intention of raising a lasting literary monument to Fame looked unlikely for Levi. Born in Turin in 1919, he might have expected to enjoy a quiet, well-ordered life. But the German army immediately occupied Benito Mussolini had seized power, and there was no compelling reason to pay attention to his high-decibel speechify. For about six weeks, Levi was with paring away in Rome. Numbering about 4,000, the Jews of Turin were a close knit community in which everyone knew everyone else, but they were loyal. Carole Angier, author of an and assimilated Italians, and proud of Levi’s father was a cheerful extrovert, successful businessman quite prepared to wear the black shirt of the Fascists if that was what all the others were doing. To be Jewish was a matter of little importance to any of them. Young Primo never went to synagogue and came to Fossoli, a clearing station for onward deportation to Auschwitz. In the Lager, violence had the pur had an apartment on the fifth floor of the solid old building in a largely Jewish residential district. Fitting into the Italian family-minded mold, Levi’s subsection of the Lager had the task of mother never moved out, not even when manufacturing synthetic rubber for the Wehrmacht, and chemists were resisted. Passing an exam and mastering sufficient German, Levi was able to the 20th century. Deported in 1944 to Auschwitz, to which he always referred as the Lager, its German name he survived and then spent the rest of his life trying to make sense of what had been through. “Someone who has experienced the Lager,” he summed up his history of the world, a witness by and by duty.”

withering slights

The Bent Pin Collection
by florence king

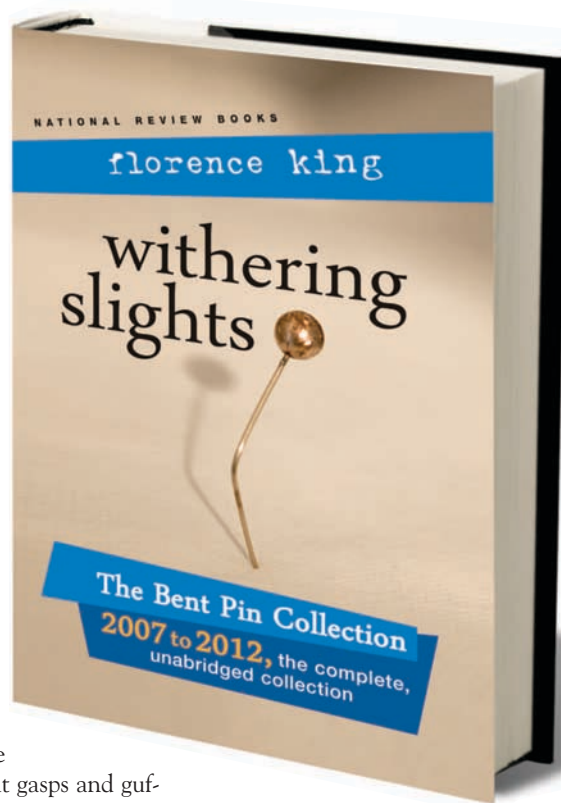
The new, complete, and unabridged collection of the popular
monthly NR magazine column by America's most revered misanthropic writer

Few will argue that there has been any *National Review* writer of greater style, wit, and caustic wisdom than Florence King, whose beloved "second" column, "The Bent Pin," graced the magazine in every other issue from 2007 to 2012 (her previous column, "The Misanthrope's Corner," held NR's back page for a glorious decade). King fans (who *isn't*!!) have so craved her timeless works that over the years NR has now published a third treasure trove of unrivaled prose à la Florence—*Withering Slights: The Bent Pin Collection, 2007 to 2012*.

On every page of this handsome hardcover book is proof positive that in Miss King's deft hand, the pen is mightier than any sword, and the pin of prose finds and pricks the many inanities ballooning across the fruited plains and foggy moors. Get your first-edition copy of *Withering Slights* right now, for only \$24.95, direct from (and *only* from) NR, happily shipped and handled at no cost to you.

Admit again what you've admitted every time you've read a King column or review: that through the laughter you've chortled, "I wish I'd said that." Which is what you indeed will say, without end, when you climb the lofty heights of *Withering Slights*. Conservatives, curmudgeons, and anyone who thrills to superior writing will delight at this complete "Bent

Pin" collection, a 200-proof, rip-roaring, bombs-away exposition of *La Firenze* at her very best. Brandishing sharp, crafted, tight prose that dazzles and endures, Miss King's dead-on, no-punch-pulled take on the American scene and its many cultural peccadillos will elicit gasps and guffaws, head-shakes and table-slams, Heck-Yeahs and Damn-Straights (and maybe even a Darn-Tootin'). From her first "Bent Pin" column in 2007 ("Grosser and Grosser") to her 2012 *adios* ("Something Ere the End"), and some five dozen more beauts between them (including classics such as "A Broad at Home," "Facial Politics," "Softboiled Speech," "The Defenestration of the Shmoo," and "With Liberty and Pug Noses for All"), King holds nothing back, letting loose her pen on anyone and anything from atrocious trends (Neo-Cleavage!) to irksome types (Weeping Wardens, LibProgs, TempCons, Pixies, New Changers, and many more)—all of it refreshing and guffaw-inducing. And you'll relish the *THWACK!* when Florence gets her grump on to land a two-by-four of contempt upside many a deserving noggin. *Withering Slights* is beautiful, new, and only \$24.95.



Is your bookcase longing for *STET, Damnit!*: *The Misanthrope's Corner, 1991 to 2002*—the complete and unabridged collection of Miss King's acclaimed NR column? Then get a copy! We're offering it for the discounted price of only \$20.00 each (which includes shipping and handling). Hey: *STET, Damnit!* also makes a great gift.

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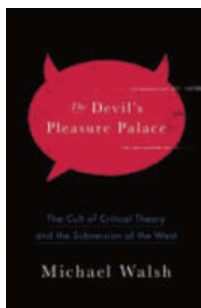
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Straight Outta Frankfurt

RACHEL LU



The Devil's Pleasure Palace: The Cult of Critical Theory and the Subversion of the West, by Michael Walsh (Encounter, 280 pp., \$23.99)

Of the 650 men and women who had been with Levi on the train to Auschwitz, 23 survived. For reasons that go deep into the shame and guilt of Europeans over their collusion with mass murder, Levi's testimony was pushed aside at first. Publishers rejected him, and Natalia Ginzburg, the best-known Jewish writer from Turin, thought they were right to do so. "I was a chemist," Levi said of himself, as though in a literary dead end, "an expert in insulating varnishes who happened to have written two books by working overtime evenings and Sundays." To settle in his own mind whether to forgive or forget, he made contact with German chemists under whom he had been a slave laborer in the Lager. Twice he revisited the Lager.

Levi lived long enough to see changes in attitude. Adolf Eichmann had been responsible for the logistics of mass murder, and his trial, which started in 1961, helped to inform public opinion. Levi did not attend but provided evidence, and considered that justice had been done when Eichmann was executed. He also testified at the trial of an SS colonel accused of deporting several thousand Italian Jews. What had happened to Levi, and what conclusions were to be drawn, became a test of conscience.

Famous at last, Levi published fiction, stories, poems, and occasional pieces on himself articulates a still broader narrative that he aims to prove that "the heroics who fled Germany and came to all sorts of subjects for the newspaper declaring at the outset of Chapter Nine New York shortly before World War II) *Stampa*. Collecting this material for the first time, the editors make great claims for its importance, perhaps for fear that it might be taken as the kind of writing a chemist does in his spare time. Over Levi's memories of the Lager convey passion and involvement of quite a different order.

Toward the end of his life, Levi apparently suffered from depression. His friends, biographers, and interviewers say so, and some offer quite good evidence for it. Perhaps the is why, in 1987, with his aged mother and his wife nearby, he threw himself off the landing outside his front door and fell five floors to his death. The suicide of an Auschwitz survivor par excellence turns the whole world into a struggle zone, and he didn't want to struggle any longer.

NR

Thomas in St. Paul, Minn.

Wilhelm Reich) are given at least a cursory treatment, but Milton, Goethe, and Wagner are all discussed in considerably more detail, and Walsh draws freely throughout on a cornucopia of cultural figures, from Boethius to Francis Ford Coppola. It's a bit disorienting. One keeps wondering when the central argument will begin.

To find your sea legs on this voyage, you must accept *The Devil's Pleasure Palace* is not really meant as intellectual history; it is more of a Chesterton-style romp through the verdant fields of Western (and especially German) civilization. Walsh spent his college years inundated with the sophistries of the Frankfurt School and clearly has little appetite for rehashing their theories in detail. Instead, he is challenging his old nemeses to mortal combat, along with their legions of spiritual progeny. Assuring us from the start that the stakes are as high as they can possibly be (life! death! sin! salvation!), Walsh jumps into the fray in the Chester tonian spirit of a man fighting for his life. Replete with martial imagery, the book reads as a call to the jacket summary, it arms for anyone who yet has strength to defend the true, the beautiful, and the good.

Why do these things need defending? As Walsh sees it, the men of the Frankfurt School (most of them Jewish academics who fled Germany and came to New York shortly before World War II) were effectively nihilists looking to detach American culture from anything meaningful or real. From the gloom of a turbulent Europe, they stepped out into the sunshine of an idyllic American landscape and resolved to put a stop to such unseemly cheerfulness. In the Fifties, flush with post-war confidence, Americans were too complacent to be properly guarded against the spiritual sickness of Marxism. Happily ensconced among the American intelligentsia, the Frankfurt School proceeded to hollow out our culture, by convincing us that up is down and black is white. Now we find our society being sucked into a vortex of resentment, so culturally desiccated that we cannot even answer the challenge of Islamist barbarians who are openly bent on our destruction.

Walsh details the symptoms of this cultural disease, deftly picking apart the contradictions that expose progres-

sivism for the charade it is. He explains how the promotion of diversity and tolerance was a ruse for turning healthy dissent into a thoughtcrime. He shows how a coordinated assault on beauty was dressed up as a form of artistic novelty. He tells how the siren song of sexual desire has lured us into a world that is hostile to sexual pleasure.

Throughout these intellectual exposés, Walsh draws the battle lines with painful clarity, playing constantly with Biblical and literary themes of temptation, seduction, and the heroic struggle for victory over empty, demonic forces. It is essential to view ourselves and our society in such terms, Walsh believes, so that we can respond appropriately to the existential threat that confronts us. Progressives are masters of deceit, and they thrive on compromise. We should give them no quarter, since both sides really know that we are engaged in mortal combat. As Georg Lukacs put it: Who will save us from Western civilization?

This book will be especially delightful for contemporaries of Walsh who were similarly inundated with critical theory, and who enjoy the spectacle of seeing its tenets colorfully belittled. By drawing out the cultural and moral implications of critical theory's errors, Walsh has done a service to those who lack the larger context that he can provide. Though initially bewildering, the cacophony of cultural associations serves a real purpose. Readers come to appreciate that Walsh isn't just settling scores with unfondly remembered personalities from his undergraduate days. His battle with critical theory is part of a larger war.

The least satisfied readers of *The Devil's Pleasure Palace* may be those who are seeking a more nuanced appreciation of the Frankfurt School and its impact on American society. Though this is ostensibly the main subject of the book, it gets somewhat lost in the exploration of larger, eschatological themes. It's not as serious a flaw as one might think, given the real scope of Walsh's project. Still, it's regrettable.

As Walsh obviously understands, the errors of the Frankfurt School were in no way unique to them. Their worst features were most immediately inherited from other Continental thinkers (Hegel, Marx, Freud), but, in fact, the dialectic

he sketches goes well beyond any particular school of thought. It is the story of our age: the battle of modernity against the bulwark of Western tradition. That tale is well worth telling, and people who are used to narrating it from one perspective (say, that of a Catholic moral philosopher) may profit from hearing a different version (as told by, say, an esteemed music critic). But if we *are* engaged in cultural and spiritual warfare, it might be useful to know: What precise role does the Frankfurt School play in modernity's Army of Darkness?

This never becomes clear. Neither the Frankfurt School nor American society as such seems to hold Walsh's attention for long. Thus, the question lingers: Did Marcuse and Adorno really have such enormous influence on American culture, or are they scapegoated for the sake of a compelling narrative? (German Jews infiltrate the American academy, spread the contagion of Marxism, and neutralize the greatest remaining stronghold of Western civilization. What a story!) I was curious when I picked up the book, and by the final page, I was still curious.

In short, readers looking to place the Frankfurt School on an intellectual-historical landscape should choose a different book, such as Martin Jay's *The Dialectical Imagination*. Readers thinking on a moral or spiritual plane will be more satisfied, however, and on that level Walsh's book is astute, passionate, and sometimes profoundly moving. His diagnosis of American culture is grim, but the book is not a requiem. It is charged with Walsh's fierce confidence that the disease that ails us need not be terminal. Our innate moral compasses are still functional, and heroic narrative is in our blood. Our enemies' arsenal is little more than a box of costumes, while our side has more fearsome weapons at our disposal: the piercing intellect of Aristotle and Augustine, the clarifying beauty of Mozart and Michelangelo, and, most important, the Cross. Be not afraid.

Altogether, *The Devil's Pleasure Palace* is a very enjoyable book that will leave the reader feeling emboldened and spiritually rejuvenated. If you need a refreshing draught in the midst of a raging culture war, come right up to the bar. This round is on Michael Walsh. **NR**

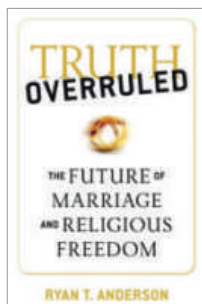
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Not Inevitable

DAVID FRENCH



Truth Overruled: The Future of Marriage and Religious Freedom, by Ryan T. Anderson
(Regnery, 256 pp., \$16.99)

IT'S entirely possible that the legal battle over same-sex marriage was lost for lack of Ryan Andersons.

There simply weren't enough people like him—people capable of making a compelling, plain-English, cultural, political, and legal case for marriage as the union of one man and one woman—to turn the tide against a same-sex-marriage onslaught that combined one part argument with three parts insult to cajole and bully America into redefining its most ancient cultural institution.

Coming so soon after the Supreme Court's embarrassing opinion in *Obergefell v. Hodges*—in which it created a constitutional right to same-sex marriage—*Truth Overruled* is a tonic. It provides a much-needed reminder that the battle over marriage isn't over. Indeed, in many ways, it's hardly begun.

First, some context. *Obergefell*, writes Anderson, was simply the latest iteration of a decades-long redefinition of marriage, from a “comprehensive, exclusive, permanent union that is intrinsically ordered to producing new life” to the “emotional union” of consenting adults. In the consent-based framework, “what sets marriage apart from other relationships is the priority of the relationship. It's your most important relationship.” In other words, to quote gay writer and thinker Andrew Sullivan, marriage is “pri-

marily a way in which two adults affirm their emotional commitment to one another.”

The first cultural iteration of this belief was of course no-fault divorce, the transformation of marriage from a covenant generally breakable only in the event of one of the three “A”s—abuse, adultery, or abandonment—into a single-party consent arrangement less binding than a consumer-product warranty. The consequences of this first change were devastating, mainly to children but also to spouses who dealt with the pain and heartbreak of ever more common divorce.

With the social consequences of no-fault divorce all around us, Anderson takes on the notion that gay marriage will simply exist alongside traditional marriage, operating essentially as a same-sex mirror of its opposite-sex counterpart, with minimal cultural impact on heterosexual marriage. Anderson makes clear that, just as no-fault divorce had serious consequences for American life and culture, so will same-sex marriage. Indeed, for many gay-marriage advocates, that is a key motivation for the entire enterprise.

Most critically, gay marriage seems set to challenge one of the indispensable aspects of both comprehensive and consent-based mores of heterosexual marriage: sexual exclusivity. Even in the era of no-fault divorce, adultery—while common—is still seen as a moral failure. Marital monogamy is still the ideal. Yet, as Anderson explains, sexual exclusivity not only isn't necessarily practiced in gay marriages, it's often not even seen as an ideal. Prominent gay-marriage advocates speak of “monogamish” relationships, in which sexual adventurism is acceptable so long as there is transparency and—there's that word again—consent. The result is likely to be yet another evolution in the concept of marriage, with “open relationships” ever more common—and with the focus once again on adult desire rather than the well-being of children.

And of course no discussion of same-sex marriage would be complete without cataloguing its impact on religious liberty. The way legal doctrine is rapidly evolving, it's increasingly clear that an American society that embraces gay marriage is a society that will reject

longstanding legal and cultural protections for religious freedom. This rejection is inherently destabilizing. Since religion deals with the deepest imperatives of the faithful—not merely what they ought to do, but what they *must* do—a failure to respect religious freedom leads inevitably to conflicts between church and state, further political divisiveness, and perhaps large-scale civil disobedience.

The stories are already legion, with Christian small-business owners brought to the brink of financial ruin if they refuse to help celebrate gay weddings, threats to tax exemptions and accreditation of Christian schools, Christian adoption agencies forced to close, and even pastors under scrutiny for preaching Biblical orthodoxy on marriage, gender, and sexuality. So far, the same-sex-marriage movement is intent not just on redefining marriage but on reforming society and marginalizing dissenting voices.

But *Truth Overruled* is no mere recitation of social woes. It equips readers to deal with common but nonsensical assertions, such as the insistence that opposing same-sex marriage is the equivalent of opposing interracial marriage, or that same-sex marriage was “banned” before the *Obergefell* decision. As Anderson notes, bans on interracial marriage were aberrational even at the time, a departure from thousands of years of race-blind marital practice. Proponents of interracial-marriage bans were *changing* the traditional definition of marriage. And regarding the alleged “ban” on same-sex marriage, couples in all 50 states had the right to live together, conduct marriage ceremonies (even in willing churches), and “choose from a multitude of employers that offered them the same benefits available to married couples”; they just didn't have the right to state recognition and support. So *Obergefell* wasn't so much about a right to marry as it was about a right to state recognition.

Most critically, however, *Truth Overruled* is indispensable because it makes the case that the traditional, comprehensive concept of marriage continues to be worth defending and preserving because it is *right*, because it is essential to human flourishing. As Anderson says, “Marriage is based on

the anthropological truth that men and women are complementary, the biological fact that reproduction depends on a man and a woman, and the social reality that children deserve a mother and father.” Indeed, “there is no such thing as ‘parenting.’ There is mothering, and there is fathering, and children do best with both.”

Anderson calls for a marriage movement, a comprehensive cultural response to a comprehensive cultural challenge. The decision to redefine marriage as a “genderless partnership” was “possible only in a society that [had] done serious damage to the institution.” Anderson is correct. “What took decades to deconstruct will take a long time to rebuild.” There is still room for a “marriage culture” in the United States. Indeed, it is a necessity.

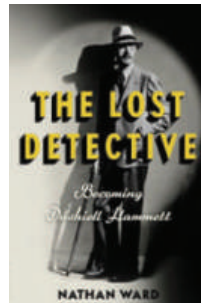
Any marriage movement has to start with our own families. Adopting a religious analogy, Anderson says, “The lives of the saints are more inspiring than the arguments of philosophers and social scientists.” But it’s not enough to simply “live the truth about marriage.” Just as the Left fought for its view of marriage in every meaningful American social structure—from corporate America, to the media, to political institutions, to the church—so should defenders of marriage fight for theirs.

There is still hope. Anderson draws inspiration from the pro-life movement, as well he should. A generation ago, the Left assumed that the pro-life movement would wither and die. The trash, shopping for groceries, getting a haircut—hardly the stuff of a captivating reading experience. Naturally, Hammett created private detectives who were even tougher than their adversaries. The language in which he described them and told their stories was as blunt as sharp-edged as the weapons he gave them. He was as influential as his contemporaries Ernest Hemingway in creating a uniquely American literary style, as far removed from the leisurely prose of Henry James and Agatha Christie as a vial of poison slipped into a glass of sherry is distant from the butt of a revolver to the base of the skull.

Defenders of marriage should be sobered by the challenges, of course; but there is no such thing as historical inevitability. Rather, writes Anderson, “our nation is shaped by millions of human choices.” Thus, “the question is not what will happen, but what we should do.” One thing you should do is read *Truth Overruled*. Read it and be educated and inspired. There’s a long struggle ahead.

The Real Detective

OTTO PENZLER



The Lost Detective: Becoming Dashiell Hammett, by Nathan Ward (Bloomsbury, 240 pp., \$26)

ASIDE from Edgar Allan Poe (who, after all, pretty much invented the detective story), the most significant figure in the history of American mystery fiction is Dashiell Hammett, who brought realism to an artificial literary genre.

Contrivance is an essential element in all fiction, but never to a greater degree than in the detective story. This is not a derogatory observation: The ordinary day of even the most colorful people on the planet is filled with the repetitive tedium of just living. Showering, brushing teeth, violent thugs who are just as happy to beat someone to death as to shoot him. Neither the college professors nor Grandma Moses were likely to provide appropriate counterweights to this level of criminal, so Hammett created private detectives who were even tougher than their adversaries.

Still, there are levels of contrivance, and its preponderance may be a good way to separate the outstanding writers from temporary ones. The pure detective story is constructed with the elements far removed from the leisurely prose of Henry James and Agatha Christie as a vial of poison slipped into a glass of sherry is distant from the butt of a revolver to the base of the skull.

Early detective novels and short stories were designed as puzzles (though about having worked for the Pinkerton National Detective Agency for many years, and it is this seldom-explored part of his life that is a key feature of *The Lost Detective*, Nathan Ward’s

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some of the earliest, written by such distinguished authors as Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Sheridan Le Fanu, and a handful of others, brought full literary skills to the work). The emphasis, therefore, was on plot, skillfully built to challenge the reader’s powers of observation and deduction, which were, of course, almost always just a step or two behind the detective’s.

Characterization carried little importance, as the characters were merely cogs required to make the engine of the story move forward. Murderers, and detectives as well, might be elderly spinsters in a charming village, vicars, librarians, scholars, and aristocrats—all sorts of people who either feel compelled to kill an adversary or find it jolly fun to catch someone who did.

Into this world of the mystery came the hard-boiled writer Dashiell Hammett, of whom Raymond Chandler, the stylish American crime novelist, wrote in his classic essay “The Simple Art of Murder”: “Hammett gave murder back to the kind of people that commit it for reasons, not just to provide a corpse. . . . He put these people down on paper as they were, and he made them talk and think in the language they customarily used for these purposes.”

The murderers who populate Hammett’s stories don’t belong to garden derogatory observation: The ordinary day of even the most colorful people on the planet is filled with the repetitive tedium of just living. Showering, brushing teeth, violent thugs who are just as happy to beat someone to death as to shoot him. Neither the college professors nor Grandma Moses were likely to provide appropriate counterweights to this level of criminal, so Hammett created private detectives who were even tougher than their adversaries.

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Hammett knew what he was writing about, having worked for the Pinkerton National Detective Agency for many years, and it is this seldom-explored part of his life that is a key feature of *The Lost Detective*, Nathan Ward’s

splendid biography of this keystone figure of American letters.

Fittingly, there have been numerous biographies of Hammett, most notably Richard Layman's *Shadow Man: The Life of Dashiell Hammett* (1981), but none have explored as deeply his life before he became a writer. There can be little doubt that Hammett's work with the Pinkertons was the greatest influence on who he became, both as a person and as an author.

In order to understand what it meant to be "a Pinkerton," it is necessary to know what America's first private-detective agency was, and Ward presents this knowledge wonderfully, providing a narrative of Allan Pinkerton, the Scot who created the agency, and of its rise to national prominence through a series of major triumphs, not the least of which was saving Abraham Lincoln from an assassination attempt in 1861. By the early 20th century, it had become so successful and prosperous that it had a virtual army attached to its various bureaus around the country, and it rented out its operatives on a wide range of assignments, including as a fearsome strike-breaking force. First hired to protect buildings, equipment, and non-union personnel, the agency quickly took on more active anti-union roles, including sending armed strongmen to break up picket lines and demonstrations.

In 1917, workers went on strike at the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in Butte, Mont. A professional agitator, Frank Little, came to town in order to

heighten the chaos. The strike was an exceptionally hostile one, and it inspired an ever-growing level of violence from both sides. Little soon became the sharpest thorn in the side of the mining company, which decided to use extreme measures to extract it.

Lillian Hellman, in what might be the only true story she narrated in her fictionalized and discredited memoir, *Scoundrel Time* (1976), wrote of the incident:

I remember sitting on a bed next to him in the first months after we met, listening to him tell me about his Pinkerton days when an officer of Anaconda Copper Company [*sic*] had offered him five thousand dollars to kill Frank Little, the labor union organizer. I didn't know Hammett well enough to hear the anger under the calm voice, the bitterness under the laughter, so I said, "He couldn't have made such an offer unless you had been strike-breaking for Pinkerton."

"That's about right," he said.

Ward recognizes the significance of the bribe, just as Hellman did, though she was more offended by the fact that Hammett was a strike-breaker than by the bribe offer. He further quotes Hellman: "Through the years, he was to repeat that bribe offer so many times that I came to believe, knowing him now, that it was a kind of key to his life. He had given a man the right to think he would murder. I think I can date Hammett's belief that he was living in a corrupt society from Little's murder."

The violence and corruption that flourished during the battle between Anaconda and the union, as well as in the town of Butte, all served to inspire Hammett's first novel, *Red Harvest* (1929). Butte is called "Personville," though it is commonly referred to by the locals as "Poisonville," and the Pinkerton agency morphs into the Continental Detective Agency. The "operative" (a term coined by Allan Pinkerton) hired to clean up the town remains nameless, known only as the Continental Op; he is also the protagonist in Hammett's second novel, *The Dain Curse* (1929), and in the best of his short stories and novellas.

Ward has done his research. Hammett's involvement with the notorious Fatty Arbuckle case has been frequently discussed, as has his instrumental role in the recovery of a Ferris wheel; but Ward's relentless digging has thrown more than a little doubt onto those cases, which turn out to have only Hammett as a source for the degree of his involvement.

The Lost Detective inevitably discusses Hammett's books and his Hollywood work, as well as his relationships with his wives and Hellman, but that information has been provided elsewhere and in greater depth. That's not a knock on the book: Ward wisely chose to focus on Hammett's formative years, and his seminal connection to the Pinkertons fills the first half of the book admirably.

There is, too, a comprehensive exploration of Hammett's struggles with health, the effects of which may have been underappreciated before Ward's chronicle of the devastating impact of those illnesses. In 1918, Hammett, 24, joined the Army and contracted influenza and tuberculosis, which nearly killed him. For the rest of his life, he suffered from numerous ailments, nearly dying more than once; most of the diseases were connected to that initial attack, though Hammett's alcoholism contributed. The effects of his poor health kept him chronically underweight, and he sank to a nadir when, at six feet tall, he weighed 120 pounds. In the early days of the 1920s, too weak to do much of anything else, he thought he might have a try at writing.

I recommend you read *Red Harvest*, *The Maltese Falcon*, and *The Glass Key*, but read *The Lost Detective* first for a deeper understanding of how this extraordinary author was able to produce such enduring masterpieces.

NR

HOW WORDS USE US

Words are the only way we have to tell
Of far horizons hurtling into space,
Or how a swaying limb invokes a spell
On stars, to jostle them back into place.

Syllables follow hollows in a rock,
And mourn the heavy fallen heads of flowers
That, spent, drop seeds as surly skies that mock
Withhold the comfort of warm sudden showers.

We are the ill-tuned instruments they choose
To work their magic on the scenery—
A clumsy apparatus that they use
To bring a poem in focus, as each tree
Reaches toward heaven in this earthly night
With shadowed petals, twigs traced dark on light.

—SALLY COOK



Text

Film

In the Arena

ROSS DOUTHAT

THE first movie I ever reviewed in these pages, almost ten years ago, was a mediocre adaptation of *All the King's Men*, in which Sean Penn was miscast as the Kingfish and a lot of very talented actors wasted their time supporting him.

The film was much worse than its source material, but it shared with Robert Penn deliberately restrained, modest in scope. Warren's novel a kind of moral fastidiousness, a distaste for actually existing or deliberately melodramatic. It aspires, Gores, between Birch and Evan Bayh, democratic politics and politicians, that's rather admirably, to political and psycho- and between George and Mitt Romney. characteristic of many fictional treatments of American political life.

As Christopher Lehmann wrote around that time in an essay for *Washington Monthly*, American novelists and filmmakers are often too in love with primal New World ideas about frontier virtue and Edenic innocence to see the political process with clear eyes. So the various attempts to tell a Great American Political Story mostly portray politics "as a great ethical contaminant and task their protagonists with escaping its many perils with both their lives and their moral compasses intact."

Lately, prestige television has supplied a qualifier to this generalization: In shows such as *House of Cards* and *Veep*, we still have a portrayal of politics as a great ethical contaminant—but one that invites us simply to relish the anti-heroism, and compromised buffoonery. Note, though, that both shows are in one way or another better show) in the first case, a Brit's take on America in the second. And note, too, that while both escape the trap of idealism betrayed, neither attempts anything like realism. (Though *Veep* does sometimes get depressingly close.)

Which is why it's interesting to watch *The Runner*, a small movie with an impressive cast that slipped in and out of theaters last month and now can be found mostly on-demand. Like *All the King's Men*, it's about a populist Louisiana politician who makes moral compromises on the path to power, and since it stars Nicholas Cage, you expect some serious, scenery-chewing demagoguery. But the film, instead, is



Nicolas Cage in *The Runner*

skin of politics and figure out what makes money into legal aid for fishermen, it the people who practice it tick . . . or run summons up the ghost of John Profumo, the British politician who did East End charity work for decades after a spies-and-sex scandal ended his career. It also raises an interesting question: If a politician followed Profumo's example today, would the press assume that it was just a temporary PR move, setting up a comeback? (And would they be correct?)

But despite its smart, *The Runner* is hobbled by its determined restraint. Cage actually underplays his part too much: The absence of Huey Long imitations is welcome, but his character needs a little more gonzo charisma, if only to show why everyone would assume that he could get back into politics so fast. By ing stricken, *The Runner* misses the sheer addictive fun of campaigning and of sheer addictive fun of campaigning and

And then it also can't help stacking the moral deck when Price contemplates sex with a (black) fisherman's wife in his comeback, by providing a kind of guardian devil (Bryan Batt) who offers oil-industry money to grease the skids for his return. If Batt's character were just a touch more sympathetic, his arguments (Nielsen), his ex-politician, alcoholic father just slightly more principled, the offer he makes to Price just slightly less corruptive resignation, the shadow of divorce, and ing, the movie's quest for realism would come a lot closer to success. But the "will he sell his soul" final act is unworthy of that aspiration; it's too tidy, too stark, too unreal. Only in books and movies are things so clear-cut, and once it reminds you that it, too, is just a movie, *The Runner* loses its claim on our attention.

There are a number of interesting elements here. The difficult relationship between the elder Price (a civil-rights candidate, then a drunk) and his ambi-

Democratic Socialism

UNLIKE Donald Trump, I am a fan of George Will. Not only am I a fan, I just might owe my career to him. Almost 25 years ago, when he gave a speech at the American Enterprise Institute—where I was a junior policy gnome—in which

he made his case for congressional term limits. During the Q&A I asked whether a better solution might not be to return to the will of the Founding Fathers. Instead of more restrictions on voter choices, why not go the other way? Why not expand Congress? The Founders would be appalled by how large congressional districts are today.

Mr. Will looked at me with sovereign contempt and, in effect, said that only a fool would want more congressional districts in Washington. The audience laughed at my expense. Rage coursed through my veins. If I'd had the gift of telekin-

that old Gypsy had promised (the story for another day), the AEI conference room would have looked like a prom scene.

But, being the behind-the-ears mailroom striver of Establishment (the one Donald Trump will finally tear down) that I was, I went my right to blood vengeance instead went home to furiously peck response to Mr. Will gleaned from fine print of *The Federalist Papers* and the minutes of the Constitutional Convention. Eventually my Unabomber-like

magnum opus became a short op-ed that ran in *Street Journal*, the day after the 1992 election. It was my first professionally published piece of writing. I caught the bug. And Will was my muse.

It's an ironic story in a way. According to lore, when Will became a columnist, he asked Bill Buckley how many

earth he could jam out three columns a week. Will responded that the world irritated him at least three times a week. Write about what irritates you. Will took the words to heart. And so did I.

Which brings me to a little diatribe of George Will's in my hand a list of socialists . . ." as he pulls out his *Special Report with Bret Baier*. Will took grave offense at Bernie Sanders's habit of describing himself as a socialist and an independent outsider. About the latter, I think Will has the better part of the argument: Sanders has been in politics since before I knew how to buy pants. (Let's be clear: He's been in Congress since 1991 and in all that time, Will says, Sanders "caucuses with Democrats. He gets his committee assignments from Democrats, he votes with the Democrats, and he's seeking the nomination of, guess what, the Democratic party.")

Sounds like a Democrat to me. Point: Will. But Will continues: "Then he says he's a socialist." It's clarifying. And, even if I'm wrong, the widespread adoption of the S-word will surely inspire another thousand great columns.

If Bernie Sanders wants to call himself a socialist, who are we to argue?

A doctrinaire or, in Hayek's phrase, a "hot" socialist is someone who not only admits that he wants government to control everything but wants that to happen right away. Hayek conceded—in 1956!—that the hot socialists were on the way out in the West, but he warned that socialist "conceptions have penetrated far too deeply into the whole structure of current thought to justify complacency."

Personally, I think James Burnham, Joseph Schumpeter, Irving Kristol, and, in other contexts, Hayek himself had the better formulation: The problem isn't necessarily socialists but planners and managers, who place their faith in government, to be sure, but

in themselves. But that, too, is a topic for another day. What's relevant to this conversation is George Will's decision to save Bernie Sanders from himself. If Bernie Sanders wants to call himself a socialist, who are we to argue? If he wants to stand in the well of the Senate and say

share in my hand a list of socialists . . ." as he pulls out his own driver's license, why object?

Dobbie Wasserman Schultz, the head of the Democratic National Committee, has declined the invitation to explain the difference between socialists and Democrats at least three times. Apparently, she feels that it is not in the interest of the Democratic party to inform the public that there are meaningful differences between socialists and Democrats. I think she's wrong about that. But even if I'm not, it's still in favor of Democrats' embracing the "socialist" label. It's certainly more accurate than "liberal" (a moniker the libertarians understandably would like to have back).

It's clarifying. And, even if I'm wrong, the widespread adoption of the S-word will surely inspire another thousand great columns.

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Text



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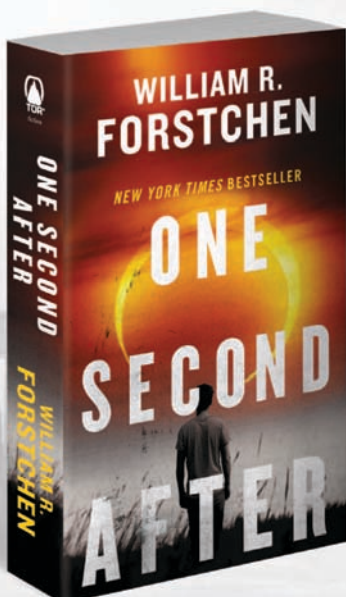
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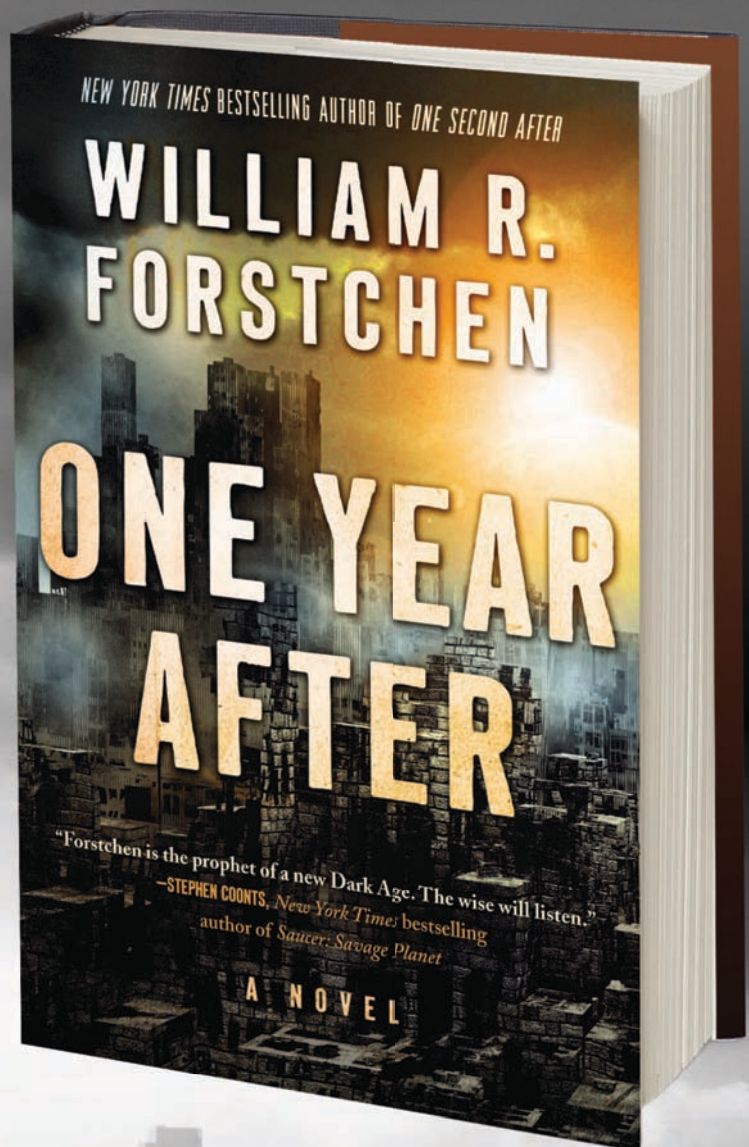
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